Daily Report

East Europe

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Warsaw Pact Schedules Joint Exercises in CSSR

LD2501162789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] According to the plan of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, joint exercises will take place on Czechoslovak territory in the 1st half of February. Units of the Central Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as the Czechoslovak People's Army, will take part.

East Europe Trade Union Talks Held in Budapest

Romania's Dobrescu Speaks

AU2201193989 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] A meeting of the chairmen of trade unions in European socialist countries has been held in Budapest. The meeting was attended by delegations of trade unions from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Yugoslavia, Poland, Romania, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. During the meeting, the participants exchanged opinions and information on the place, role, and tasks of the trade union movement in the current stage of the socialist society's development, on the situation of the European trade union movement, and on the prospects of further developing cooperation among European trade unions.

During the meeting, Comrade Miu Dobrescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, took the floor and gave a broad account of the outstanding achievements attained by the Romanian people, particularly in the period that was inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress. He also noted the significant contribution made by trade unions to the successful implementation of the tasks outlined by the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP national conference. The speaker additionally reiterated the firm support of the trade unions and of all the working people in our country with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives and demarches for detente and disarmament in Europe and throughout the world, and for the establishment of a Europe united in its variety of social systems, a Europe of free, independent, and sovereign countries, and a Europe of progress and peace.

Hungary's Grosz Makes Speech

LD2201194089 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 22 (MTI)—The roundtable of trade union leaders from the European socialist countries ended in Budapest on Sunday [22 January].

The delegates of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, the German Democratic Republic, Romania, the Soviet Union and Hungary gave lengthy briefs on the current economic, social and political processes under way in their countries. They spoke about the specific tasks of the movement and endeavours for the renewal of organizations and working methods that are indispensable for the trade unions to come up to the new requirements and satisfy the needs of the membership. The discussion covered the trade union rights, the relationship to the governments and representation and social-welfare policy. Participants reviewed the situation of the European trade union movement, the possibilities for cooperation and the trade union tasks arising from the processes of economic integration.

During a meeting with the trade union leaders, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, gave information on the home political situation of Hungary and the tasks faced by society.

Dobrescu Meets With Grosz

AU2301210989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1949 GMT 23 Jan 89

["Summit Romanian-Hungarian Exchange of Messages"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Budapest AGERPRES, 23/1/1989—On behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, was conveyed a warm salute and the best wishes of further and important success in socialist construction for the Hungarian people.

Thanking, Karoly Grosz conveyed Nicolae Ceausescu the best wishes of good health and further successes in his activity at head of the party and state for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

The messages were exchanged when the HSWP general secretary received Miu Dobrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, the other chief delegates attending the meeting of chairmen of trade union central departments in European socialist countries, held in Budapest.

Further on Vienna CSCE Talks, Conference

SFRY's Loncar Makes Speech

LD1801221689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—The Vienna CSCE (Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe) follow-up has proved significant for the promotion of security and political cooperation in Europe, but Yugoslavia is not equally satisfied with the results in the area of economic cooperation, as Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar said at the closing session in Vienna today.

Loncar said that the Vienna CSCE had demonstrated that no bloc, partial or exclusive concept of europe could win all-European support. He observed that the neutral and non-aligned countries had proved to be a constructive force in the CSCE process. Loncar said that the relaxation of tensions and the broadening of dialogue between the superpowers had not been fully reflected in the concrete results of the Vienna meeting.

Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Loncar underscored that the CSCE continuously stimulated the democratization of relations in Europe and encouraged internal democratic processes in European countries. Loncar urged the implementation of the CSCE decisions. He criticized the practice of "double standards" and said it was hardly compatible, for instance, to champion a freer circulation of people and, at the same time, make one's own borders less passable or to advocate liberalization and openness and, at the same time, increase barriers imposed by different narrow groupings.

Loncar urged the removal of all political barriers standing in the way of freer, all-European economic cooperation. The Yugoslav foreign secretary said that Europe should show more determination in resolving the economic and technological divisions, because security and economic development were inseparable.

By devoting greater attention to the structural and developmental problems of its southern region, Europe will make a contribution to the solution of the problem of under-development as a major global issue today, as Loncar set out.

Poland's Olechowski Interviewed

AU2301142989 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 21-22 Jan 89 p 4

[Burkhard Bischof report: "To Neutralize the Division of Europe; DIE PRESSE Interview With Poland's Foreign Minister Olechowski"]

[Text] Vienna—There were three foreign ministers in particular from Warsaw Pact countries who made an especially positive impression with their speeches at the final session of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting this week in Vienna's "Austria Center": Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who provided new stimuli to disarmament policy and found frank words on the obsolete "Iron Curtain"; his Hungarian counterpart Peter Varkonyi, who dealt in a balanced way with the security, economic, and human rights issues of the Helsinki Final Act and advocated a strengthening of human rights; and, finally, Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

Olechowski said that the implementation of all the stipulations of the agreements of the Vienna CSCE final document in the national laws are the "decisive question" per se. If this is not done, the documents that were agreed upon in Vienna will be nothing but "empty declarations." He expressly mentioned the role that could be played by nongovernmental groups and organizations within the Helsinki process.

In an interview with DIE PRESSE, Olechowski explained the passage of his speech on the adjustment of national laws to the Vienna agreements: "For me, this is a principle. If we try to achieve progress in Europe, the implementation of the Vienna agreements within national laws is only logical." His Warsaw ministry will now establish contacts with the Justice Ministry, the Interior Ministry, and other affected ministries to examine where practical adjustments must be made.

As for some stipulations of Basket Three, which affect the freedom to leave a country, measures were already taken recently in Poland. These measures, in detail, involve a more liberal policy concerning passports and less strict stipulations regarding foreign currency allocations for Polish citizens who want to go abroad.

Foreign Minister Olechowski thinks that the legalization of trade union pluralism in Poland is only a matter of time, "but one has to understand that this does not happen within 24 hours." Trade union pluralism was suspended by the State Council in 1982 for an unspecified period, and now the question of whether the time is ripe to lift this restriction is becoming topical. Olechowski is convinced that the moment will come when the PZPR Central Committee will ask the State Council to withdraw the suspension of trade union pluralism.

The Poles have a tradition of liberalism and a very marked awareness of freedom. Therefore, they react particularly sensitively when there are restrictions in this respect. The current efforts of the Warsaw government toward democratization, liberalization, decentralization, and a market-oriented economy are a reaction to the internal situation: "These efforts fully correspond to the interests of Polish society."

Minister Olechowski, who acts like a textbook diplomat from the "good old school," thinks that the main task of Polish foreign policy is contributing to overcoming the division of Europe. This is also the reason for the intensive commitment of Polish diplomacy to the CSCE

process. (By the way, apart from Hungary, Poland was the one East European country that has practically never been in the crossfire of criticism from Western or neutral states during the 27 months of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting.)

Olechowski: "We have traditionally close relations with the West—in particular in the cultural sphere. Geographically, we are located in the middle of Europe; and politically we belong to the East. Therefore, it is vital for us to maintain good contacts with all sides. Therefore, we have to be active in foreign policy in order to neutralize the division of our continent."

This is the context in which Poland's most recent efforts for contacts with the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and for cooperation with the EC have to be understood.

Meanwhile, Olechowski sees Poland's relations with the United States and France, which have been seriously strained for years since the imposition of martial law in Poland in December 1981, as being on the way toward normalization. During his relatively short, about 6-month, term of office, Olechowski met three times with former U.S. Secretary of State Shultz (who was last in Vienna this week). In the meantime, the French have realized that "their foreign policy passivity toward Poland has lasted a bit too long." The visit of President Francois Mitterrand to Warsaw during the 2d half of this year will probably mark the return to an "active policy toward Poland" on the part of France. Olechowski does not want to say much about bilateral relations with Austria, only: "They are exemplary."

Poland expects one thing, above all, from the intensification of relations with the Western countries: that at the "Paris Club" negotiations on Poland's debts to the West, obstacles can finally be removed in order to clear the way for a long-term agreement.

Hungary's Gyula Horn Addresses Geneva UN Talks

LD2301211189 Budapest MTI in English 1754 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Geneva, January 23 (MTI)—The Hungarian People's Republic seeks to play an active and initiating role so that the talks to be launched on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe may yield success as soon as possible and the measures may be extended to Hungary in the very first phase, said Gyula Horn, state secretary of foreign affairs, who delivered a paper at the Geneva conference of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research on Monday [23 January].

Mr Horn went on, 'The citizens of the European states welcomed the fact that talks on the disarmament of traditional weapons would soon start. They hope that the talks will lead away from a military confrontation and the balance of fear to genuine security based on political cooperation and the elimination of the material bases of military threat, and that the political, economic and psychological burdens stemming from the maintenance of large, regular armies will decrease. The unilateral Soviet disarmament steps announced by Mikhail Gorbachev on December 7, 1988, were of great importance from the aspect of the planned disarmament talks. The Soviet decision has envisaged measures that point far beyond quantitative reductions, and involve the first genuine steps towards a defence-oriented transformation of the military-technical side of the military doctrine'.

Mr Horn emphasized the need for taking a complex approach to military balance in Europe, considering the European armies as a whole, including the land and air forces.

The Hungarian state secretary emphasized that the balance of military power cannot be measured exclusively in figures. Taking the major qualitative differences between the arms systems into account, such an approach would necessarily lead to false conclusions. Power relations can only be assessed in the light of goals and conditions. As a result of historical development, the armed forces of the two military alliances developed under rather different patterns. In certain areas, the Warsaw Treaty member states offset their technical lag by quantitative development. A realistic assessment of the current situation makes it necessary to consider this fact, too.

'The negotiators should consider that some asymmetries could hardly be eliminated. The Western side is mainly concerned with the fact that the Soviet Union is a European state, which facilitates supply, while the United States is outside Europe. This is, however, partly compensated by some facts such as the obsolete infrastructure of Eastern Europe, and the considerable superiority of the NATO naval forces. At the same time, the NATO countries should accept that a considerable part of the Soviet air defence has tasks other than defence against cruise missiles and naval air forces deployed in Europe'.

Mr Horn emphasized that the disarmament measures to be elaborated in the talks would only be efficient if they comprised, in the first phase, central Europe as a whole. All ideas that ignored a part of this geographical region for one reason or other were doomed to failure.

Although the military cuts in Hungary did not influence central power relations directly, they had some importance and a symbolic value. They were suitable for demonstrating the possibility that the armed forces of a country belonging to an alliance system could be transformed into something non-offensive, under the new concept of security, Mr Horn said.

Daily Cites 'Positive' Outcome of Balkan Talks

AU2501100089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Jan 89 p 4

[Shaban Murati article: "The Tirana Meeting—A Contribution to Stronger Balkan Cooperation"]

[Text] The proceedings of the meeting of senior officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, and Albania have ended in Tirana. The protocol of this meeting, which was conducted in a constructive spirit of understanding, has drawn up a crowded calendar for Balkan activities which will further promote cooperation and understanding among the countries of our peninsula. It is noteworthy that the second meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries will be held in Tirana in October, 1990, a step of particular significance on the road to Balkan cooperation.

The Tirana Balkan meeting, in continuing the deepening process of cooperation in the Balkans, successfully achieved its goals and objectives. It further promoted cooperation, fulfilling the hopes and wishes of public opinion and of the peoples of the peninsula. As the protocol from the meeting published in our press yesterday states: "It assessed the commitment and efforts of all the Balkan states to unremittingly carry out a process of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region." All the delegations taking part in the meeting contributed to its success and witnessed the Balkan countries' sense of responsibility toward the development and prospects of relations in the Balkans.

The meeting of senior officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs conducted in the Albanian capital and its results are a constituent element of this positive process of cooperation and understanding which is increasingly becoming crystallized. Since the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs in Belgrade and that of senior officials in Sofia, positive steps have been taken in developing relations, which have helped to improve the atmosphere of trust and mutual respect among the Balkan peoples.

The proceedings of the meeting of deputy foreign ministers showed that the positive process of Balkan cooperation is genuinely promising and that there are possibilities of deepening it further and enriching it with new content. All the countries taking part expressed confidence in the continuation of the cooperation process, and this commitment is a constructive element in inter-Balkan relations. Cooperation among the Balkan countries is now a reality, and represents a trend in the development of relations among our countries. Experience hitherto proves that the Balkan countries are now becoming aware of their common interests in finding ways to cooperate and to establish relations of good-neighborliness, as a necessity for their historical existence and destiny in the Balkans. One of the conclusions emerging from these positive developments, which was reinforced by the Tirana meeting, is the need to transform Balkan cooperation into an irreversible process, on a secure basis, for today and the future, and for both bilateral and multilateral relations in the Balkans. The peoples of our region have formed ancient and multifarious historical ties with each other in the common struggles they have waged against various enemies of their freedom and independence, and in continual relations and exchanges in economic and cultural fields.

The Tirana meeting also showed more clearly that the fields of mutual interest and the opportunities for Balkan cooperation are very extensive. Continually identifying them and bringing them to fruition accords with the interests of every individual Balkan country and all the Balkan countries together. It is well known that the problems facing the Balkans are difficult. External negative factors beyond the Balkans, who desire a turbulent atmosphere of mistrust in the Balkans, seek to stir up many complications. But there is no problem that cannot be overcome by political goodwill, wisdom, realism, and common efforts. The constant progress of relations and cooperation demands the elimination of the difficulties and obstacles in the path of establishing an atmosphere of friendship and good-neighborliness among the Balkan peoples. Historical experience has shown, and present experience reinforces this conviction, that an attitude that considers national minorities to be a factor of cohesion within a country and a connecting bridge of friendship with neighboring countries is a correct policy that leads to a growth in trust and cooperation.

It is particularly significant that all the Balkan countries considered Balkan cooperation as the single choice for relations among themselves. Promoting these relations calls for the implementation of ideas and recommendations and the realization of tangible and positive goals and proposals that realistically serve Balkan understanding. The delegations of the participating countries were united in the view that the process that has begun in the Balkans must be continued and consolidated on the basis of a commitment by all the Balkan states separately and together.

The Albanian people, who foster friendly feelings toward all the neighboring peoples who live in the Balkans, are interested in Balkan understanding and cooperation and in peace and stability in the region. They desire and struggle to ensure that a spirit of understanding and friendship that maintains good-neighborliness among peoples predominates in our peninsula. The development of good-neighborliness is one of the fundamental priorities of the foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. It is with a high sense of responsibility that our country has pursued the principle of good-neighborliness, and has given, and commits itself to further giving, an effective and tangible contribution to Balkan cooperation. It was in this spirit that it assumed the duty of host country to the meeting of senior officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries and it is with this noble aim that it will

do everything in its power to ensure that the next meeting of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries to be held in Tirana will give fresh impetus to Balkan cooperation and relations. As Comrade Adil Carcani said in his message to the Balkan meeting in Tirana, "The Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, just as hitherto, will spare no efforts in making this cooperation fruitful, to the benefit of our friendly peoples, and in the interests of peace and stability in our region, the Mediterranean, and Europe."

The Tirana Balkan meeting aroused great interest and a broad response in international public opinion and in the press and media of many countries of the world. This is understandable, because positive processes in our peninsula and peace and stability in the Balkans are an important factor in ensuring peace and stability in the Mediterranean, Europe, and beyond. By increasing and consolidating understanding and good-neighborliness among themselves, the Balkan countries serve the real interests of security and peace in the world. It is right that, after such important activities as the meeting held in Tirana, our peoples should look to the future of the Balkans with more optimism.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 20-27 Jan

AU2701155889 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 20 and 27 January reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Foto Cami and Manush Myftiu, AWP CC (Central Committee) Politburo members, attended on 21 January celebrations held in Vlore to commemorate the anniversary of the Fifth Assault Brigade. (1900 GMT 21 Jan)

Manush Myftiu, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 20 January the heads of the Turkish, Greek, and Romanian delegations attending the Tirana meeting of Balkan deputy foreign ministers. (1900 GMT 20 Jan)

Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, hosted on 20 January a dinner in Durres in honor of the delegations attending the Tirana meeting of Balkan deputy foreign ministers. (2100 GMT 20 Jan) Malile also received on 21 January the heads of the Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish delegations to the aforementioned meeting. (1900 GMT 21 Jan) On 22 January, Malile also received the SFRY's Maksic. (1900 GMT 22 Jan) On 23 January, he received Romania's Oancea. (1900 GMT 23 Jan)

Zhivkov Receives Ukrainian Science Academy Chief
AU2001162689 Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received today in the Pravets Residence academician Boris Paton, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

In a cordial friendly atmosphere it was pointed out that the restructuring in the two countries opens still broader opportunities for the development of the mutual cooperation, for its enrichment with new more efficient forms. That refers completely also to the relations in science and technology which have to give all-round assistance to economic advance, especially in its vanguard trends.

It was ascertained that the joint research activity is developing at growing rates, but under the new conditions it must get even greater scope. Special attention must be paid to the joint projects in informatics, in the sphere of principally new technologies and ecological research.

Mr Todor Zhivkov was informed in detail of the reached new agreements for techno-scientific cooperation, for the new ideas in this sphere which focus on the direct relations between techno-scientific teams and economic organizations of the two countries.

Memorandum Signed on Visit
AU2101183689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] A memorandum was signed in Sofia today on the visit of the delegation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Talks were held at which the results of the cooperation with Bulgarian industrial organizations and scientific research institutes were discussed. Common interest was shown in developing direct contacts. The two sides agreed to promote the setting up of joint scientific and technical organizations to work in the field of the full "research—applications—production—marketing" cycle, as well as to attract Ukrainian institutes to work with Bulgarian companies.

The Bulgarian side also made additional proposals on joint scientific research topics, connected with preparing a program for developing economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between Bulgaria and the Ukraine in the period until 1995.

The document was signed by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, and academician Boris Paton, chairman of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, who said:

[Begin Paton recording in Russian, fading into announcer-read translation] I believe that this agreement is of interest not only for the Ukraine and its science and production enterprises, but for the whole of our Soviet scientific production efforts. During my visit, I was particularly impressed by the tight schedules in which enterprises with a high scientific content have developed, such as those in Botevgrad, Stara Zagora, and Plovdiv. I am referring here to the development of electronics, as compared to what I saw 5 years ago. On behalf of all my colleagues, I would like to cordially thank our Bulgarian friends, who acquainted us with the work of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, said Academician Boris Paton.

Zhivkov Sends Condolences on Tajik Earthquake
AU2601112789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following teleram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades, we would like to express our most sincere sympathy on the strong earthquake which affected the Tajik SSR and caused the loss of hundreds of human lives, as well as much material damage.

Please to extend our profound condolences on behalf of the Bulgarian people to the families and relatives of the victims, as well as to all those who suffered as a result of the earthquake.

Lukanov Meets Deputy Premier Gusev in Moscow
AU2601091889 Sofia BTA in English 0811 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, January 26 (BTA)—At the talks held here yesterday between Mr Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Mr Andrey Lukanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign economic relations, the two sides discussed some questions of the cooperation between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union in the timber and woodworking industry.

Returns From Moscow
AU2601203289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, permanent Bulgarian representative in CEMA and minister of foreign economic relations, returned from Moscow. In Moscow he took part in the 130th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, which he chaired.

The session marked CEMA's 40th anniversary and discussed issues related to further perfecting the cooperation mechanism of the organization.

Mladenov Receives U.S. Institute President

AU2401181989 Sofia BTA in English
1636 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, 24 January (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister received today Mr John Edwin Mroz, president of the Institute for Security Issues Between the East and the West in New York who was on a visit to this country from 22 through 24 January for establishment of contacts with Bulgarian scientific institutes.

Lebanese Socialist, Communist Delegation Visits

Meets Balev, Stanishev

AU2301205089 Sofia BTA in English
1839 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—Mr Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, today received a joint delegation of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon (P.S.P.) and of the Lebanese Communist Party (L.C.P.), composed of Mr Sulayman Taqiy al-Din, deputy secretary general of the CC of the P.S.P., and of Mr Yusuf al-Murtada, member of the Politburo of the CC of the L.C.P.

The guests were familiarized with the results of the December 1988 Plenum of the CC of the BCP and with the progress of the restructuring of all spheres of life in Bulgaria.

The Lebanese delegation told their hosts about the efforts of the national patriotic and progressive forces to preserve the unity, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and to resist the attempts of imperialism, Zionism and the reaction to internationalize the crisis and to split the country. In this connection, an emphasis was laid on the refugee repatriation initiative of Mr Walid Junblatt, chairman of the P.S.P. A special point was made of the Lebanese patriots' alliance with Syria in the face of an unmitigated threat from Israel and from its stooges in Lebanon.

On behalf of the BCP leadership, Mr Balev and Mr Stanishev commended highly the militant role of the P.S.P. and of the L.C.P. in the front ranks of the National Resistance Front, which recently celebrated its sixth anniversary.

The sides exchanged views on international issues in the light of the new realities. They emphasized that as a result of the favourable impact of new political thinking on international affairs, feasible conditions have emerged for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict and of the crisis in Lebanon as an inseparable part of it. Among the factors which made possible the dialogue and the progress toward convening an international Middle East conference after four decades of confrontation, they listed above all the contribution of the Soviet foreign policy strategy which forms the basis of the new philosophy of international relations.

The participants in the meeting welcomed the heroic uprising of the Palestinian people in the Israeli-occupied territories and the political realism displayed by the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which help enlist the support of an increasing number of states and political circles for the cause of establishing comprehensive, durable and just peace in the Middle East.

The BCP cooperation with the P.S.P. and the L.C.P. was highly commended, and a shared desire was expressed for a still greater expansion and promotion of their relations.

Delegation's News Briefing

AU2601195789 Sofia BTA in English
1843 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—Mr Sulayman Taqiy al-Din, deputy secretary general of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon and Mr Yusuf al-Murtada, member of the Politburo of the Lebanese Communist Party, stated here today that Lebanon could not ensure its independence and security if interference in the country's home affairs is not stopped. We would continue our resistance with all means and with the national resistance front, they stressed.

Mr Sulayman Taqiy al-Din and Mr Yusuf al-Murtada, who are in Bulgaria in a joint delegation of the two parties spoke today at a press-conference of the political situation and the development of the latest events in Lebanon.

In their joint statement they spoke in detail about the repressions of the Israeli occupational forces against the population in the occupied Lebanese territories. The two parties' representatives appealed to the world public and to all states who have a voice in the UN to insist that Israel would observe the decisions of the Security Council 425, 508 and 509 for withdrawal of Israel from the Lebanese territory without any preliminary conditions whatsoever.

It was stressed that the new political thinking which is expressed in the easing of tensions on the international stage and in the settlement of certain regional conflicts provides possibilities for that.

It was stressed that the Lebanese national and patriotic and progressive forces back the courageous Intifadeh of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and the establishment of a Palestinian state, which received wide international recognition. They think a lasting settlement of the crisis in the Middle East can be achieved at an international conference.

In reply to the issue for the continuation of fights between Amal and Hizballah it was indicated that this is a national catastrophe, as the possibilities are broken and the strength lost of the two detachments participating in the patriotic resistance. It was stressed that a political agreement should be reached between the two hostile groupings for which enormous efforts are being made.

Deputy Defense Minister Dobrev Writes Articles

On Curbing 'Dogmatism'

AU1701150389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Article by Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense: "New Times, New Trends"]

[Excerpts] Fundamental changes are taking place in worldwide development, changes that are radically transforming the essence of this development. Despite all its different aspects, the world is indivisible and interdependent. All countries are participating in the uniform world development processes. Regardless of great differences and specific characteristic features, certain common laws and trends exist and prevail in worldwide development. [passage omitted]

One of the basic, common features of our contemporary world is related to the trend of developing democracy and glasnost, the trend of expanding human rights, the aspiration to better satisfy the people's social needs.

The new political thinking, which is expanding daily all over the world, emerged on the basis of the aforementioned trends. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has earned the greatest historical credit in this respect. One of the most brilliant demonstrations of his new political thinking and of the practical actions ensuing from it, was his speech delivered at the 43d UN General Assembly session, and especially the announcement on the one-sided decision of the Soviet Union to significantly reduce its Armed Forces.

The socialist countries are experiencing certain difficulties in their present stage of development. This should be attributed to both objective and subjective causes. According to given historical circumstances, the path of socialist development was mainly selected by countries whose productive forces were not sufficiently developed. This greatly complicated their transition to socialism and the construction of socialist society in those countries. On the other hand, the shortage of necessary material-technical prerequisites for building socialism in those countries was favorable to the promotion of dogmatism. In the USSR, under the conditions of Stalin's personality cult, the dogmatic approach in the country's and party's leadership resulted in gross distortions which were mainly expressed in neglecting the objective laws and in applying bureaucratic methods to the solution of economic problems. They resulted in the violation of the dialectical unity between the basis and the superstructure, in underestimating the role of technical progress and the experience of capitalist states, and ended in repressive measures on a mass scale.

The dogmatic approach, to some extent, was also transferred to the other socialist states, where it manifested itself mainly in turning the Soviet experience into an absolute value and in its mechanical application.

Such difficulties and distortions to some extent obstructed the overall process of social development and exerted a negative influence on the world situation, contributing to the exacerbation of international tension and increasing the arms race by simultaneously reducing the rates of the socialist countries' development. [passage omitted]

Thanks to the correct April plenum line pursued by the BCP, our country did not suffer serious stagnation and disproportions [disproportisii]. Nevertheless, the opportunities of the April model were exhausted and this resulted in slowing down our rates of development. This circumstance, as well as the new world situation, required us to initiate a fundamental and comprehensive restructuring process in our society and to develop a new model of socialism. [passage omitted]

One of the important trends in the present development of the socialist community member states today is the requirement of comprehensively expanding and placing their economic and scientific-technical cooperation on a qualitatively new level. This presupposes a fundamental restructuring in the work of CEMA, a transition to joint production, to joint scientific-technical developments, and the future establishment of a convertible currency and a common market.

Naturally, all these trends encounter a certain resistance by the most reactionary circles in the West, which continue to be prisoners of their outdated cliches, but also the opposition of dogmatic leaders and circles in the socialist countries. Despite the fact that this opposition has no future, it should by no means be underestimated and systematic countermeasures are required in this respect. [passage omitted]

Under the conditions of strategic parity in the military sector the warmongers from the imperialist states' governments are not likely to embark upon a major military adventure. At the same time we should exclude the conflagration of wars that may develop into a world war.

As a result of this, the questions of defense will still be the focus of our attention for a long time, and permanent military vigilance and high combat readiness are required. Nevertheless, even under these conditions, the maintainance of excessively large and expensively

equipped armies in peacetime is not justified. The combat staff of the peacetime armies should be within the limits of sensible sufficiency. [passage omitted]

As for our party-political work among the population and within the army, we are facing the responsibility of not permitting attitudes of pacificism to be ahead of the processes of eliminating the arms race and rearmament. It is necessary decisively to improve the forms, methods, and substance of ideological-education work in the army, basing ourselves on the existing and imminent changes in the number and quality of human resources. We should eliminate dogmatism and a narrow-minded approach with a view to optimally improving the effectiveness of ideological-educational work.

On Encouraging Glasnost

AU2701142489 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense, by Colonel Rangel Zlatkov: "Every Soldier Should Be Ready To Accomplish His Duty" —place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Zlatkov] Comrade Colonel General, over many years you have occupied various positions in the Bulgarian People's Army, and I am sure that this experience has greatly increased your inside information about the work of various commanding-organizational, executive, and other organs and units in the Army. If you look back and consider things from the point of view of your reminiscences of the past, which factors would you point out as being of particular importance today in the era of restructuring which is under way in the entire socialist society, including the Bulgarian People's Army?

[Dobrev] In determining those basic factors in developing and perfecting the Army which might be pointed out as particularly important today, in the era of restructuring, I think that we should be guided by the existing realities, rather than by our past experiences and views. In the first place, we should consider the new trends in international relations, which directly influence the armies. [passage omitted] The most recent initiatives and approaches of the USSR announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d Session of the UN General Assembly, and the Soviet Union's decision to proceed toward a unilateral reduction of armed forces and the destruction of chemical weapons, will represent an additional incentive for the processes of disarmament and detente.

However, an opposite trend exists. Numerous people in the ruling circles of the U.S. and the NATO member countries continue to think in the old cliches and are fanning the arms race. This is confirmed by the plan to modernize armaments in the NATO member countries, by the plans to develop highly accurate conventional weapons, militarize outer space, and so forth. As a result of all this, despite the fact that such a trend has no historic future, the process of detente has not yet become irreversible. This makes it necessary for us to persist in our efforts to strengthen the defense of the socialist community countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

Another important development trend of the socialist states at the present stage is the expansion of glasnost and the democratization of society. Glasnost and democracy are the core of restructuring in the political sphere. The chief meaning of glasnost is to give people more information about the things happening in society, which should contribute to determining their stand in life and stimulate their activity in resolving social problems.

Some people think that glasnost should mainly consist of publicizing shortcomings and mistakes committed in our work, of uncovering blank pages in our history, or even fiercely denouncing the past. Such an approach is incorrect. Not only the negative phenomena in our public life but also, and primarily, all the positive experience, the achievements, the enthusiasm, the heroism of the people's daily work, and our nation's historic successes in the struggle for a bright future should be the topics of glasnost. The important thing is not to exaggerate achievements and successes and to avoid a one-sided approach, as well as to prevent having a beautiful facade conceal outrageous acts committed in our backyard. Such an approach is necessary, because man learns both from his own and from other people's failures and successes.

Talking about glasnost in the Army, we cannot fail to point out a few specific features of army organization and the Army's special purpose. This does not mean that there is no place for glasnost in the Army, that the Army should be some sort of forbidden zone. The opposite is true: Glasnost and criticism of shortcomings in the Army should be most widely practiced at all kinds of army meetings and conferences. The actions of all members of the army, regardless of their position, are subjected to criticism. The peculiar factor in this respect is that orders from the single commander are not subject to criticism, and that critical remarks and evaluations should not always be publicized by the mass media and made accessible to all our society. This applies to problems that represent military secrets. In all other cases, however, glasnost should be practiced without any restrictions.

[Zlatkov] A few years ago, you shared valuable thoughts about the single commander. I am confident that today, in the era of democracy and glasnost, you will have something new to say on these issues. Would you like to express your opinion on the triple connection between commander, glasnost, and democracy?

[Dobrev] These problems aroused great interest and prompted lively debates. In many cases they were closely linked with the legitimate question of how to combine democracy and expanding glasnost with the consolidation of the principle of one-man command in practice. I would immediately like to stress that these are quite

complicated connections, that this process is subject to constant development and should be further enriched by the theory and practice of the restructuring process.

To a great extent, the consolidation of democracy and glasnost in army life depends on the commander's skill in working with the collective organs—party, Komsomol, trade union organs, and organizations—at general meetings of army collectives, as well as in dealing with various other councils, commissions, and so forth. [passage omitted]

The problem we are discussing has another important aspect—it concerns the limits and criteria of glasnost, democracy, and one-man command. Glasnost and democracy are abstract categories. They should be considered from the point of view of the specific social conditions that exist in the Army, and we should search for the most appropriate methods and means of applying them, so that they may contribute to improving the Army's combat strength. Naturally, in order to determine these limits and criteria we need great competence and a civic sense of responsibility. It is absolutely natural that these limits should expand, encompassing a growing number of fields in which they could be applied, such as in solving cadre problems, in connection with officer promotions, proposals for rewards and punishments, and others. [passage omitted]

[Zlatkov] The defense doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states assigns particular tasks to our Army. This is why I would like to ask you to inform the NARODNA ARMIYA readers in most general terms of the most topical tasks of the Bulgarian People's Army under the present circumstances.

[Dobrev] If I were to briefly define the basic task of the Bulgarian People's Army in accordance with the new historical meaning of world development as a whole, and of our country's development in particular, in my opinion, this task would be as follows: Bringing the staff and organizational structure, as well as the training process in our army into line with the requirements of the defense doctrine, promoting the training-educational process to a qualitatively new level, and increasing the combat readiness of the troops on the basis of most fully utilizing the achievements of scientific-technical progress. [passage omitted]

As to the new realities, they will undoubtedly produce some changes in the attitude of citizens, including youths, to the problems of the country's defense, to army service, and to military duties. Hence, there arises the task of changing and enriching the contents of ideological-political, military, and moral education, of increasing the effectiveness of all forms of educational work. We should proceed more extensively from monologues to dialogue, from explanations to personal examples, from prohibition to persuasion. It is very important for every soldier to become aware of the social impact of his difficult task, for him to be able to correctly assess political events, to develop his own total immunity to bourgeois ideology and morality, pacifism and leniency, and to maintain his own, steadfast readiness to fulfill his military duty.

Secretariat Decision on Dialogue With Readers

AU1701133089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jan 89 p 1

["Decision of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat: Daily and Active Dialogue"]

[Text] 1. The BCP Central Committee Secretariat approves of the information that has been received on the results of the sociological research of the "RABOTNICHESKO DELO Readers' Circle," conducted by the newspaper's editorial board and the Information-Sociological Center of the BCP Central Committee, and positively assesses the efforts of the editorial collective to develop and assert the party organ as the most popular and authoritative newspaper that informs people about issues, which ensures daily dialogue with the party members and all working people on the cardinal issues of party policy, people's life, and social restructuring.

2. On the basis of conclusions reached from the sociological research, the editorial board of RABOTNICHESKO DELO must adopt specific measures on further expanding the circle of its readers, better satisfying their growing demands, and improving the newspaper's quality.

The crucial issues and tasks included in the BCP July Concept on Further Constructing Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, restructuring various spheres of social life, and especially restructuring the functions, style, and methods of work of the party organs and organizations must also in the future occupy a central place in the editorial board's publishing and organizational activity.

An important task of the editorial collective is to maintain a high level of competently written and well-founded articles, as a precondition for improving these articles' influence on the dialogue with the readers.

3. We must establish the practice of holding regular meetings between the BCP Central Committee Secretariat and the editorial board of RABOTNICHESKO DELO, at which the basic trends of the newspaper's publishing and organizational activity must be discussed in connection with the most important tasks of party policy in the relevant period.

The first such meeting must take place in March 1989.

4. The basic results of the research of the circle of RABOTNICHESKO DELO's readers must be brought to the attention of and used by the BCP Central Committee commissions and departments and the leaderships of the central mass media and the oblast dailies.

(Approved by the BCP Central Committee Secretariat with Protocol No. 650 of 21 December 1988)

Government Holds Plenum, Discusses Demonstrations
LD2601205589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] The federal government held a plenary meeting today. Details of the session were provided to journalists at a news conference following the meeting. Here is a report by correspondent Miroslav Langer:

[Begin recording] [Langer] The government discussed the draft schedule for the implementation of its policy statement, and approved the draft main tasks for this year. It will focus on introducing the new economic mechanism by 1 January of next year, on eliminating the imbalance in the domestic market, on the concept of its food policy, state housing policy, on environmental development and protection, and on health care.

The government went on to approve the plan of activity of the People's Control Committee for the first 6 months of this year. If we examine this plan, we can see that it is in harmony with the solution of the main issues of the life of society. For example, it includes a check on the reasons for shortages of certain types of consumer goods, medicines, and medical equipment. The government also discussed the Czechoslovak system of education and training. It instructed the relevant members of the government to create conditions this year for improving the material and financial equipment of schools according to our economy's possibilities.

At a news briefing following the government session, Miroslav Pavel, head of the press department, answered journalists' questions. Some foreign journalists concentrated their questions on last week's events in Prague. They were told that during the provocations on Wenceslas Square, the identity of 1,406 people was checked, 519 people were taken to police stations, and 198 of them were released immediately. Some 130 people are being charged with minor offenses, 96 with misdemeanors, and 79 have been charged with the crime of riotous behavior. Three persons are currently being held in custody.

Miroslav Pavel went on to say the following:

[Pavel] In its policy statement last November, the government assured the citizens of this republic that it is not closing the door to constructive criticism and that it would be grateful for any well-meaning advice.

The government does not reject alternative proposals either, nor different options for tackling various problems. This is because the existence of different views and the application of socialist pluralism does not weaken the state but rather strengthens it. However it is not possible, of course, to give in to threats or demagogic pressure nor look on passively when the legal order of this state is violated.

The government wishes to assure the citizens that it will provide the conditions for the healthy development of our society, for seeking the optimum solutions to all questions, and for adhering to the Constitution and the other legal norms of our Republic.

[Langer] To this let us add that it is up to the foreign correspondents themselves who have access to objective information how they use it and whether they are interested in seriously informing the public in their countries. [end recording]

Czech Government Communique on Prague Protests
LD2501205489 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 25 (CTK)—The Government of the Czech Republic has heard at its session reports by the interior and environment minister, the prosecutor general and the minister of justice on the situation which arose in Prague in the last few days in connection with the attempts of domestic anti-socialist forces, supported from abroad, to disrupt the process of restructuring of economic and social life and the promotion of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia, it said in a communique today.

The Czech Government noted that the absolute majority of the country's citizens resolutely condemned these actions. Czechoslovak socialist society creates sufficient scope for a broad democratic application of the pluralism of interests and views of all social strata of citizens. Socialist democracy has and will have nothing in common with the creation and activity of anti-socialist political structures and various pressure groups. This is why it resolutely rejects attempts to destabilize our society and expresses its unambiguous stand that it will permit no violation of the valid Czechoslovak laws, the government said in the communique.

It appreciated the resolute action of the law enforcement units of the public security force and people's militias which led to the restoration of peace and public order.

300 Prague Protestors Termed 'Former Criminals'
LD2701102489 Prague CTK in English 0800 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 27 (CTK)—RUDE PRAVO carried today the third part of answers to readers' questions concerning events in the centre of Prague last week.

It noted that people whose identity was checked between January 15 and 19 in connection with the unauthorized demonstrations in Wenceslas Square included 300 former criminals and offenders. These "demonstrators" had in the past been tried for theft, embezzlement of socialist property, bodily harm, hooliganism, parasitism, drunkenness, frauds, sex-related offences and work

indiscipline. 66 of them have been sentenced more than twice, some of them even six and more times. Many of these people do not have permanent residence in Prague, the paper noted.

RUDE PRAVO paid attention to the views of some readers that according to the Vienna accords, actions by the security force against law-breakers were illegal and that internal political affairs were not just a matter of Czechoslovakia.

The paper said that the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting explicitly stated the right of states to declare their own laws and decide on their policy. The Vienna meeting also re-affirmed the importance and validity of the ten principles of relations between states, as formulated by the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation. It stated that regardless of their mutual relations, the participating states would refrain from any direct and indirect, individual and collective interference in internal and foreign affairs which are within the internal competence of another participating country.

"It is thus evident from the document that no government has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another state. In the last days, however, this did happen—for instance the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, stations financed by U.S. Government sources, explicitly called on people to participate in unauthorized demonstrations. Their action was obviously at variance with the Final Act signed also by U.S. President Gerald Ford", RUDE PRAVO wrote.

It noted that there are no international agreements under which actions by security forces against those breaching public order would be illegal.

Commenting on the activity of the so-called Charter and its sister—and also illegal—groups, the paper said that a common denominator for all the "Charter" groups is disruption of the existing socialist system and introduction of the so-called pluralistic economic system. In "Charter" vocabulary, this system means opening the door to capitalist economy with the aim to gradually reduce the socialist sector. As Ota Sik confirmed in one Radio Free Europe broadcast a year ago, the aim is to liquidate the role and influence of the party and the state.

Charter 77 Member 'Missing' Since 22 Jan

LD2601145389 Hamburg DPA in German 1415 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Frankfurt/Prague (DPA)—Stanislav Devaty, 36, a leading member of the CSSR human rights organization "Charter 77," is said to have been missing since last Sunday [22 January]. The International Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt based its report today on Yugoslav human rights campaigners. It is hoped that Devaty has "only" been arrested. He was the only person who succeeded last weekend in getting to the grave of Jan Palach at the Vsetaty graveyard, and in placing flowers and a crown of thorns there. Twenty years ago the student burned himself to death to protest the suppression of the reforms of the "Prague Spring" by Warsaw Pact troops.

'Unprecedented' Western 'Provocation' Condemned

LD2601232589 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] In the next few minutes we would like to assess some of the recent events in Prague, who they serve, and who organizes them.

As the world was looking with hope towards the closing sessions of the Vienna meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, some anticommunist centers in the West were busy hatching an unprecedented provocation. This campaign was aimed against Socialist Czechoslovakia and its capital Prague. The (?signal) for the action came from Munich, or more precisely, from the Czechoslovak section of the notorious Radio Free Europe, a station known to be financed by the American Central Intelligence Agency.

On January 10, 1989 the announcer of the program called "Topics From Czechoslovakia" reminded listeners of the approaching 20th anniversary of the tragic death of the Czech student Jan Palach, a young man who, as he himself admitted shortly before his death, felt betrayed by those who had persuaded him to douse himself with an ostensibly harmless inflammable liquid and to stage a provocative act in Prague's Wencelas Square. As it showed, the liquid had not been that harmless: It had caused the death of that student. Radio Free Europe struck on a touching note. It sent (?further) letters to the prominent Czech dissident Vaclav Havel, whose anonymous writer announced his intention to follow the example of Jan Palach by burning himself to death in Prague on 15 January 1989. The station then broadcast an appeal urging listeners to take part in antigovernment demonstrations in Prague from 15 to 21 January 1989. Simultaneously on the same day, Vatican Radio's Czech transmission featured a reflection by a Czech priest, 75-year-old Josef Zverina of Prague, entitled "Who Are Thou, Jesus Christ?" The priest, a sympathizer of about 1,000 activists associated in the Czechoslovak antisocialist group known as Charter 77, describes Palach as a national hero and patriot who had sacrificed himself for a brighter future for his nation. His statement came through as a clear call for demonstrations which actually did take place in the next few days.

Radio Free Europe, Vatican Radio, the Voice of America, and some other CIA-financed radio stations unleashed a campaign which has no parallel in recent history. The aim was clear: to frustrate or at least hamper the success of the Vienna meeting and also to discredit Socialist Czechoslovakia, which actively participated in the Vienna talks. The role of Trojan horse was evidently assumed by several pro-Catholic members of Charter 77 and Father Josef

Zverina, a man whose career last year received a boost in the form of an honorary doctorate of theology from Tubingen in West Germany. Political emigre Karel Skalicky last November described the activity of this priest in Czechoslovakia as conducive to national rebirth. Where Father Zverina really stands was nicely demonstrated in connection with the recent provocations in Prague. As is known, the Catholic Church prohibits suicide, and the church will ruthlessly excommunicate those who commit it. Suicides are denied Roman Catholic funerals and must be buried apart from the righteous dead. Father Zverina must know that, yet he does approve of the suicide of Jan Palach, whom he calls a national hero. Moreover, he incites young people to emulate Palach's deed. Is this an ignorance of the church laws or an intentional mystification of an anti-Czechoslovak character? And who among the powers-that-be of Vatican Radio okayed this senseless propaganda?

We may never learn that. It is clear, however, that the provocations organized in Prague on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's tragic death were coordinated by several centers of enemies of this country, with the use of Charter 77 and other nominally opposition groups. But those who staged them failed to win the support they had expected to rally. A crushing majority of our citizens, including believers, had unanimously condemned these actions and confirmed their commitment to the restructuring and further democratization of our society.

Party Organ Warns 'Anti-Socialist Groups'

LD2701091189 Prague CTK in English
0733 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 27 (CTK)—In a well-ordered society laws must apply to everybody and the citizens are entitled to law and order. At moments when state power is confronted with a "worked-up" crowd, dialogue is not possible, RUDE PRAVO wrote editorially today about confrontation between anti-socialist groups and state power in Prague in recent days.

The paper said that social dialogue is an objective factor of life and restructuring in Czechoslovakia and this dialogue also concerns many participants in the demonstrations. It would be a mistake to identify all of them with the organizers of anti-socialist actions. "Broad, genuine social dialogue is part and parcel of our socialist democracy. We believe that the platform of the National Front gives sufficient scope for its implementation. It is wide enough to cover all interests and needs of people and enable everyone to help make and carry out the policy according to his or her possibilities, so that everyone could frankly speak on any subject and could propose alternatives".

"In the social stratification of our society we should never forget that there are groups of people among us hating socialism, people who desire a class revenge for February 1948. They made no secret of this twenty years ago and make no secret of it today when they think that they have a chance to capitalize on restructuring and democratization. However, it was clearly stated several times that we link the pluralism of interests and views about which we speak at present with the socialist state, that it can have nothing in common with the formation and activity of anti-socialist structures. There is no return to the situation of before Feburary 1948, not to mention the situation in the bourgeois republic (before 1938—CTK). Let all those who would like to turn back the wheel of history in our country take note of this. At the beginning of this year, anti-socialist forces really attempted such pressure. It was impossible just to watch", RUDE PRAVO wrote.

Soviet General Lizichev Discusses Troops Cuts

LD2601224189 Prague CTK in English
2040 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—"We maintain a clear stand ensuing from the new political thinking and the principle of reasonable defence sufficiency. Our arms and troop cuts are an example for everyone, above all for NATO, and have been already followed by other Warsaw Treaty states—Hungary, the GDR. A certain proposal has been worked out also in Czechoslovakia", visiting Soviet Army General Aleksey Lizichev told CTK here Thursday [26 January].

The head of the Main Political Administration of the Soviet Army and Navy pointed out that Mikhail Gorbachev's address at the U.N. General Assembly session aimed at ensuring security and peace was welcomed by the Soviet Army representatives. Mikhail Gorbachev announced the troop cuts by 500,000 men. The number of tanks will be reduced by 10,000, artillery systems by 8,500 and aircraft by 800.

"Unfortunately, our Western partners have not responded yet to our initiatives by concrete actions. The Soviet troop cuts are a process to last two years (1989-1990). These two years seem to be enough for the West to make up its mind and make a decision", Aleksey Lizichev said.

He added that the Soviet Union has demonstrated its realistic attitude towards the troop and arms cuts, both in the sphere of strategic offensive and conventional weapons.

However, these steps and efforts at balance of interests and forces have not met with adequate reaction in the West, he said and gave figures demonstrating U.S. superiority in many spheres, e.g. the Soviet Union has two aircraft carriers with 38 planes deployed on each, while the United States has 15 aircraft carriers with 98 planes on each, the Americans have 1,400 more airplanes in Europe than the Soviets, they have more helicopters.

As to the principle of reasonable sufficiency, Aleksey Lizichev said this is a principle of building the armed forces in harmony with the defensive doctrine. At present, the Soviet Armed Forces are being re-built on this principle in order to make the Army and the Navy minimum but in accord with the military and political situation in the world. They should ensure reliable defence of the Soviet Union and other friendly countries.

"Our strategic nuclear forces, i.e. ground strategic missile forces, submarines with ballistic nuclear missiles and strategic bombers, are to be built on the principle of balance with the U.S. strategic forces. This is the principle we shall observe till the question of total liquidation of strategic nuclear forces is definitively solved", Aleksey Lizichev said.

Statement on Chemical Weapons Verification

LD2601193689 Prague CTK in English
1740 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 26 (CTK)—"We have an extraordinary interest in a speedy completion of the draft text of an agreement on general and complete ban on chemical weapons and on their liquidation which is being worked out at the Geneva disarmament conference," spokesman for the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Ivan Kulhanek said in a statement today.

Czechoslovakia has voiced its readiness to take part in a series of control experiments that would be aimed at finding the way to reliably control civilian chemical production and ensure that it could not be abused for the production of chemical weapons, the spokesman said.

In this context a number of concrete measures has been worked out and adopted on the basis of which experimental control of non-use of civilian industry for the production of chemical weapons was carried out in Czechoslovakia on the national level January 25-26. It was successfully carried out in the state enterprise "Association for Chemical and Metallurgical Production Usti nad Labem—plant Mnisek" in the Liberec District. This plant in northern Bohemia produces chemicals for textile and leather industries.

"Experts from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defence and Chemical Industry confirmed that an effective control in the civilian chemical industry was possible and practicable. It poses no serious obstruction to the production process nor threat to production or commercial secrets. Czechoslovakia will inform the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva through its diplomats. Later a similar experiment is to take place with the participation of foreign inspectors," Ivan Kulhanek said.

Jakes Condolences on Tajikistan Earthquake

AU2601124889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
25 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Telegram of Condolences to USSR"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, sent Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the following telegram of condolences in connection with the natural catastrophe in Tajikistan:

Dear Comrades, with pain in our hearts and with deep sorrow, we have received the news of the natural catastrophe which this time has struck the territory of Soviet Tajikistan. Only a few weeks have passed since the tragic earthquake in Armenia, and the destructive elements have again demanded considerable sacrifices in human lives and caused extensive material damage.

Permit us to convey to you, to the Soviet people, and to the families of the survivors and of the people affected, the Czechoslovak working people's deep condolences and sympathy in these present, painful moments.

Jakes Receives International Bank President

LD2001021689 Prague CTK in English
1927 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Prague Jan 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today president of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) and the Netherlands Bank Willem F. Duisenberg.

Milos Jakes expressed Czechoslovakia's interest in a wider participation in the international division of labour, for which the economic reforms under way form more favourable conditions. This also supposes wider participation in international monetary markets. Willem Duisenberg stated that the process of integration of the countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) provides for free movement of capital between them already from 1990, adding that it is in the interest of the Netherlands and other EEC countries to form an integration grouping open to the surrounding world.

Lenart Chairs CPCZ Foreign Policy Session

LD2401162689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1500 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Foreign Policy convened in Prague today. It assessed the direction of Czechoslovak foreign policy in the period preceding the 18th congress and the party proceedings in the international communist and workers movement.

The session of the commission was chaired by Jozef Lenart, its chairman, member of the Presidium, and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Slovak, Hungarian Ministers Discuss Dam Project
AU2401164089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Stefan Murin, first deputy premier of the Slovak SR, received Laszlo Marothy, minister for environmental issues of the Hungarian People's Republic, in Bratislava on Friday [20 January]. They briefed each other on the progress of the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project. In this connection they stressed that the governments of their two countries will continue to give ecological issues their utmost attention. The Hungarian guest met with Vladimir Margetin, Slovak minister of forestry, water economy, and the wood-processing industry, the same day. They discussed intensifying cooperation in protecting the waters in the area affected by the construction of the hydroelectric project on the Danube, and assessed the schedule for the construction of sewage treatment plants.

Janku Meets With Papal Nuncio in Rome
AU2401161689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jan 89 p 7

[RUDE PRAVO correspondent: "Contacts Between the CSSR and the Vatican"]

[Text] Rome (our correspondent)—Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Government's Secretariat for Church Affairs, visited Rome 16 to 20 January. He met with Apostolic Nuncio Francesco Colasuonno, who is ambassador to Eastern Europe. It is reported that it was an informative meeting. Papal spokesman Joaquin Navarro told journalists that the "talks were held in a friendly atmosphere with the aim of achieving the development of contacts between the Vatican and the CSSR."

Joint CSSR-SFRY-UK Construction Venture Founded
AU2401131789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Joint Construction Venture"]

[Summary] Gottwaldov—POZIMOS, a shareholding company, was founded in Gottwaldov on 19 January. Its shareholders are the local division of the Civil Construction Works state enterprise (51 percent), the Yugoslav IMOS company (39 percent), and the Vitrea company of Great Britain (10 percent). Eng Antonin Kozik was appointed director and chairman of the board of the POZIMOS shareholding company, and Bogdan Korosec chairman of the board of the supervisory board. The task of the new joint venture is to ensure planning, construction work, and deliveries of building materials for the construction and modernization of all types of projects in the CSSR and abroad.

Enterprise Chairman Selected From Two Candidates
AU2401132189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 89 p 1

["na"-signed report: "Chairman Elected From Two Candidates"]

[Text] Prague (our correspondent)—An election of the chairman of the CPCZ enterprise committee took place in the Institute for the Construction Sector's Rationalization in Prague on Thursday [19 January]. Two candidates had been nominated, in accordance with the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee, which recommends electing even chairmen of party committees from among several candidates, thus experimenting with this new form in state enterprises. Members of the committee elected Comrade Vlastimil Drazil as chairman by secret ballot. The Institute for the Construction Sector's Rationalization is the first organization in our capital to elect the chairman of the enterprise committee from two candidates.

CPSU's Slyunkov Continues Official Visit

Received by Honecker

LD2601141789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1252 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Nikolay Slyunkov conveyed cordial greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which Erich Honecker likewise reciprocated.

The parties exchanged opinions on topical issues of building socialism in their countries, the international situation, and cooperation between the two parties and states.

Erich Honecker gave a briefing on the resolutions of the Seventh SED Central Committee session which provide a far-reaching direction for fulfilling the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress and on the preparation of the 12th SED Congress. The life of society in the GDR is marked by the creative initiative of all citizens to consolidate comprehensively the performance of the national economy. That is the stable foundation for the SED's continued economic strategy in its unity of economic and social policy. The party elections have enhanced the party's fighting strength at all levels and released fresh impetus for consolidating the trusting relationship between party and people.

Thanks to the efforts of the working class led by the party and its allies the GDR's 40th anniversary will be marked with fresh deeds for socialism. The SED and the GDR are thus fulfilling their internationalist responsibility to the fraternal parties and states.

Erich Honecker referred to the orientation given by the latest session of the SED Central Committee deepening scientific, technical and economic cooperation between the GDR and the USSR and expressed the unanimous support of the SED and the people of the GDR for the CPSU's course for the renewal of Soviet society.

Nikolay Slyunkov reported on the CPSU's experiences in implementing the resolutions of its 27th party congress and the resolutions of the 19th all-union party conference. He stressed that in the current conditions of socialist development the exchange of experiences between fraternal parties of the socialist community is gaining in significance.

The two parties paid tribute to the working meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev last September in Moscow as a political event of great consequence for the deepening of friendly solidarity and the extension of close, comprehensive cooperation between the SED and the CPSU and between the GDR and the USSR. The two officials stressed that it is of the greatest import for the present and future that the cooperation based on stable foundations between the two countries is characterized by the broad application and economic exploitation of high technologies, modern microelectronics and computer technology in particular. During the discussions in Berlin more specific steps on this were agreed.

Erich Honecker and Nikolay Slyunkov confirmed that the securing of peace is the conclusive basic question of the present. In close comradeship with the USSR the GDR will also in the future reliably assume its responsibility as a cornerstone of socialism and of peace in the heart of Europe on the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and will work for an improvement in the world situation, disarmament, dialogue, and cooperation.

The two interlocutors stressed unanimously that the constructive proposals of the Warsaw Pact states for disarmament and detente contribute to strengthening mutual trust and security in Europe and the world.

The unilateral measures for disarmament in the conventional sphere undertaken by the USSR and the GDR are of exceptional significance.

Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR, took part in the talks.

Nikolay Slyunkov and the other members of the CPSU delegation led by him visited the "7 October" machine-tool combine in Berlin and the SED Central Committee's Central Institute of Socialist Economic Management during their stay in the GDR.

Slyunkov, Mittag Sign Agreement

LD2601173289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador in the GDR, hosted a lunch on Thursday [26 January] in Berlin on the occasion of the visit by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Poliburo and secretary of the CPSU. His invitation was taken up by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and other GDR public figures from political and economic circles. Among the Soviet guests was Vladislav Kolesnikov, minister for the electronics industry.

Beforehand, Guenter Mittag and Nikolay Slyunkov signed a protocol in the USSR Embassy. In evaluating the agreements reached at the GDR exhibition in Moscow it lays down measures for realizing the joint proposals on increased cooperation in selected areas.

The importance of the protocol, said Nikolay Slyunkov directly after the signing, consists in the fact that it applies to perspectives for the development of economic cooperation. Particular attentions accorded to the agreed measures for further linking forces in scientific-technical progress. Joint scientific research projects were agreed in this regard, "twenty-five areas for joint cooperation," which are of significance for the structure of the national economies of both countries, were agreed upon.

Guenter Mittag said that intensive work has been achieved here thanks to thorough preparation in evaluating the meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow. The work embraced all the main areas for cooperation, which are of great importance for the qualitative development of productive forces in both countries. Guenter Mittag stressed that never before have we had such a concrete program, worked out in complete agreement. We can say with a clear conscience that we are drawing nearer together in the overall strategic direction and that we will solve major tasks with joint responsibility. Referring to Nikolay Slyunkov's visit, Guenter Mittag stressed: It was an excellent atmosphere. This found special expression today in the talk with Comrade Honecker, during which the work we have jointly achieved was given high recognition.

With regard to the results achieved in the work, the Soviet ambassador said that both delegations achieved work rich in content which was in the mutual interest. The work comprised the further deepening and expansion of cooperation in industry, science, and technology. Ambassador Kochemasov stressed that conclusions from the working meeting in Moscow had been drawn here. All agreements were reached in complete accord and an important step has thereby been taken in the development of mutual relations, which is of great importance for the future.

Visits SED Economic Institute

LD2501213189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] CPSU Politburo member Nikolay Slyunkov visited the Central Institute of Socialist Economic Management in the SED Central Committee in Berlin-Rahnsdorf this afternoon. Director Koziolek briefed him on the training of leading cadres and the institute's research on the implementation of the SED's economic strategy.

Nikolay Slyunkov was accompanied by his host, Guenter Mittag. The CPSU official will also visit the parent enterprise of the 7 October combine today.

Kessler Addresses Defense Ministry Meeting

AU2601213389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for national defense, addressed generals, admirals, and officers of the National People's Army, of the GDR Border Guards, and of the Civil Defense, at a commanders' meeting in the Defense Ministry.

The defense minister discussed the tasks and measures that result from the decision to reduce the National People's Army unilaterally and independently of negotiations which was announced by Erich Honecker, chairman of the State Council and of the GDR National Defense Council on Monday [23 January]. He reiterated the members of the Armed Forces' full support for the GDR party and state leadership's decision in the interest of confidence, greater security, and stability in Europe.

With this initiative, the GDR proves once again its firm determination to actively help ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace; that the nuclear and conventional arms race will be stopped; and that a transition to a continuous disarmament process will be made.

The reduction of personnel, tanks, aircraft, and defense spending, as well as the structural changes in the National People's Army which have been decided upon, are new proof, according to the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states and the GDR, of further developing the defensive character of the Armed Forces, which has always been the basis of their practical action.

This significant measure is closely related to the GDR's policy of dialogue to implement the policy of peaceful coexistence between the states with different social orders.

Discussing the military-political situation, Army General Heinz Kessler referred to the high responsibility, now and in the future, of the people's soldiers to protect peace and socialism. "We cannot and will not overlook that there continues to exist influential forces of the military-industrial complex which attempt to revise the results of World War II, to change borders that have been established by international law, and thus belatedly to win the war that was initiated and lost by German imperialism," Kessler said. "This would unavoidably result in a catastrophe for Europe."

One must not forget that NATO continues to adhere to the strategy of first strike and to the use of means of mass destruction for this purpose, the minister stressed. Therefore, the soldiers of the National People's Army, together with the members of the Soviet Armed Forces and the other fraternal armies, will continue to guarantee the protection of the peaceful work of the working people for the further construction of the developed socialist society at the necessary level and they will do everything to reliably secure peace.

Wilms Speaks on Current Disarmament Developments
AU2501155289 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Jan 89 p 2

["E.F." report: "Mrs Wilms Welcomes Disarmament Steps"]

[Text] Bonn, 24 January—The minister for inner-German relations, Mrs Wilms (CDU), has welcomed the announcement of unilateral disarmament steps by the GDR. Honecker's proposals follow "the correct line," Mrs Wilms told the Sixth Germany Policy Meeting of the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, which is close to the SPD, on Tuesday [24 January] in Bonn. However, the FRG wants to continue its practice of developing its disarmament efforts "within the Atlantic alliance." The GDR is trying to involve the FRG in a discussion about disarmament and security policy in order to gain prestige in the foreign policy sphere. From the FRG Government's point of view, human rights issues "are excellently suited as a topic for discussion in inner-German affairs."

In her speech, Mrs Wilms described it as desirable that the Germany policy be based on the broad consent of all democratic parties. The coalition parties and SPD today share the view that new conditions have been created for the Germany policy through dynamic East-West relations as a result of the reform policy in the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states. It is true that freedom, democracy, and human rights are far from having been implemented in the East bloc countries, but the strength of liberal ideas can be felt everywhere even if the reform politicians are only aiming at a pragmatic modernization of the economy, society, and the power system, Wilms stressed.

Warning Against "National Impatience"

Nobody knows where this development will ultimately lead; what is required now is "watchful openness." However, the hope that the contradiction between freedom and the absence of freedom, and thus the East-West conflict, can be resolved through "evolutionary and free developments on the other side of the European dividing line," thus making possible a settlement of the German issue, is today more justified than ever before after 1945. Mrs Wilms warned against "national impatience" and the decoupling of the call for freedom and the call for unity in the German issue, and of abandoning the goal of national unity. Such "superficial realism" misjudges the "possibilities of developments in Europe." Mrs Wilms assessed the political prospects that are currently opening up as a confirmation of Adenauer's basic decision to search for ways for reunification only on the basis of the Western integration of the FRG.

The GDR leadership is keeping its distance from the present reform movement in the East bloc and is not even afraid of provoking a confrontation with the Soviet Union, Mrs Wilms stressed. This leads to growing dissatisfaction and bitterness among Germans in the GDR, whose hopes for the first time are not only directed toward the West but also toward the East. The leadership reacts with "methods that belong to the past." Arrests, bans, and Honecker's most recent statement in connection with the Wall breathe the "spirit of the past." On the other hand, the GDR is trying to arrive at "factual solutions" in many spheres. First signs of the introduction of a "socialist state that is based on the rule of law" are emerging. It is the FRG Government's duty to constantly remind East Berlin of the obligations it has assumed by adopting the Vienna CSCE document. Through the CSCE process, the traditional European ideas of enlightenment are being recognized as a common standard by all European states. On this basis, the artificially divided parts of Europe can be reunited, including "the artificially divided German people." In connection with the current German-German policy, the Vienna accords provide for the abolition of the compulsory exchange of currency "without ifs and buts," for example. Wilms hopes that it is not a bad sign that the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has claimed that these agreements only call for the possibilities of their abolition to be "examined" and not "to be taken into consideration."

Legal and Political Dimensions

Referring to the controversy within the DCU/CSU over whether the FRG should explicitly insist on the reservation on reunification in a possible political West European union, Mrs Wilms pointed out that a great deal of confusion has been caused by people who did not always distinguish clearly between the legal and political dimensions of the German issues. In its judgement in connection with the Basic Treaty, the Constitutional Court stated that the FRG must not renounce the title "by means of which it can work toward the realization of reunification and self-determination." On the other hand, it must not create new titles that can be used to its disadvantage in its striving for this goal. This does not mean, however, that the political path toward the unity of Germany is determined by the Basic Law, Mrs Wilms emphasized. The current government considers the FRG's participation in the creation of a free and unified Europe to be the only viable way to Germany's national unity and freedom.

During the discussion, SPD Bundestag Deputies Schmude and Heimann pointed out to Mrs Wilms that the pragmatic Germany policy, which is also supported by the SPD, and the adherence to the normative target of national unity exist side by side, without being linked, which leads to "reunification rhetoric" that is not credible.

Nier Briefs Canadian Envoy on Arms Cut Proposal
LD2501112889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0815 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Ottawa (ADN)—Kurt Nier, GDR deputy minister of foreign affairs, outlined the GDR steps, announced by Erich Honecker, for the unilateral reduction of forces

and arms as well as a cut in national defense expenditures during a meeting yesterday with James Taylor, under secretary in the Canadian Foreign Ministry.

The Canadian official welcomed these disarmament measures and assessed them as significant for further progress in the disarmament process as well as for the creation of favorable conditions for the upcoming negotiations in Vienna on the reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe.

In connection with international development, the interlocutors described the conclusion of and the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which has already begun, as an historically significant entry into nuclear disarmament.

The participants agreed on the necessity of further substantial disarmament steps in the nuclear, chemical, and conventional spheres. In this connection, great importance was attached to Mikhail Gorbachev's initiatives for the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Union's conventional armaments and forces. The two politicians welcomed the conclusion of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting and stressed that it was now a question of making a determined effort to implement the mandate, agreed on in Vienna, on negotiations for the reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe as well as for further-reaching confidence and security-building measures.

Kurt Nier and James Taylor acknowledged the positive development in relations between the GDR and Canada and expressed the desire of their governments to further expand political dialogue and bilateral relations in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. At the same time, this would make a contribution to an improvement in the international climate and to the strengthening of the positive tendencies in world politics.

Kurt Nier was in Canada for political consultations at the invitation of Jaques Roy, minister responsible for Europe in the Canadian Foreign Ministry.

Krenz Addresses Interior Ministry Meeting

AU2501173789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The achievements that were made last year and the challenges that will have to be met in 1989 were at the center of talks in a working meeting in the Ministry of the Interior on Monday [23 Jan], which was attended by generals and leading officers of the People's Police and other organizations of the Interior Ministry. The guests of the event included Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Wolfgang Herger, director of SED Central Committee Security Department.

Based on the seventh meeting of the SED Central Committee, Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the Interior and chief of the German People's Police, stressed that the prime necessity of the work of the German People's Police is to guarantee the citizens peace and security and to protect their lives and health. The cooperation between the People's Police and the social forces is an important condition for the implementation of law and legality. The insight of taking care of order and security themselves is increasingly determining the citizens' actions. This is the expression of socialist democracy, the minister said. Therefore, the trustworthy relationship with the working people, the work for and with the citizens are the basis of further successes. The German People's Police has to do justice to the demands and challenges of our time, the minister said. Discussing the tasks that result from the dynamic development of the national economy, Minister Dickel emphasized the need "to proceed even more purposefully against any disturbances and criminal acts. Infringements on fire protection regulations and encouraging conditions for violations of the law have to be counteracted with consistency. The state leaders have to be supported in implementing a legal order that is at a high level."

In his closing address and on behalf of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker, chairman of the National Defense Council, Egon Krenz thanked the members of the People's Police and the other bodies of the Ministry of the Interior for their responsible work for the reliable protection of the worker-peasant state. With initiative, creative strength, and steadfastness they protect the property and work of the people, the dignity and freedom of the people, the lives, health and the rights of the citizens. Together with the working people, they reliably ensure order, security and lawfulness. Thus they fulfill the class assignment of the ninth SED Party Congress. With the seventh meeting of the Central Committee and Erich Honecker's speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the the KPD, every party organization and every comrade has a clear political orientation for the further course and the preparation of the 12th SED Congress, Egon Krenz said.

Referring to the double-dealing of Western politicians, he stressed: "We know what to make of peace and human rights messages from this corner. We know that peace and human rights are seriously aspired and fought for by those who also guarantee them thanks to the power of the workers and peasants. We have good reason to count ourselves among the most courageous vanguard and defenders of peace and human rights. We regard them as too valuable as to just make them the topic of campaigns. In the GDR they are part of the basic concern of state policy."

In a greetings address, the participants in the meeting thanked the SED Central Committee and Erich Honecker for the policy that serves the well-being of the people. They pledged that the members of the German People's Police and the other bodies of the Ministry of

the Interior, with responsible commitment and with their entire knowledge and ability, will make a worthy contribution to the preparation of the 40th anniversary of the GDR.

Kurt Loeffler To Begin Israel Visit 29 Jan

LD2501164389 Hamburg DPA in German 1601 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Jerusalem (DPA)—Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs, will travel to Israel this Sunday for a 5-day visit as the highest-ranking GDR official to do so thus far. As the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem confirmed today, Loeffler will come as a guest of the memorial for the Jewish victims of the Nazis "Yad Vashem." There are no official relations between the GDR and Israel.

A spokesman for "YAD VASHEM" said that Loeffler would hold working talks at the memorial. The state secretary is responsible for the GDR archives on Nazi crimes. There is "a lot of material" on the annihiliation of six million Jews during World War II. Loeffler is to arrive on Sunday for the 5-day visit.

Daily Publishes Letter by Wilhelm Pieck

AU1301180189 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 12 January on page 3, under the headline "Wilhelm Pieck's Letter to D.S. Manuilskiy of 28 May 1939," carries the letter by KPD Chairman Wilhelm Pieck to D.S. Manuilskiy, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, which was found among the documents of the Comintern in the central party archives of the Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the CPSU Central Committee and is published here for the first time.

The letter reads as follows: "On 5 April, in agreement with Comrade Dimitrov, I sent a written request to Comrade Beriya to grant me a meeting with him during which I wanted to discuss with him a number of cases of arrests of emigrants, of which I and the other responsible German comrades in the Comintern are convinced that they have not committed any crimes against the Soviet Union. I sent him a list of names of these emigrants with corresponding portraits. Unfortunately, I have not received any answer to my request to date even though almost 2 months have passed. Since in mid-April last year I addressed a similar request to Yeshov without receiving any answer either, I would like to bring this matter to Comrade Stalin. But perhaps it is better if you first talk to Comrade Beriya about whether he wants to have such a talk with me or not. The matter is very important and I ask for your help."

Honecker Sends Condolences to USSR on Earthquake

AU2501125289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev:

The news of the severe earthquake in the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic has deeply shocked us.

I ask you to accept our deepest sympathy and to convey to the people that were affected by the disaster and the families of the victims the sincere sympathy of all citizens of the GDR.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Relations With European Parliament Viewed

AU1901144489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Strasbourg (ND dispatch)—On Monday [16 January] in Strasbourg Hans Modrow, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Dresden Bezirk SED leadership, met with Enrico Vinci, secretary general of the Parliamentary Assembly of the EC states, for an exchange of views on the development of relations between the GDR People's Chamber and the European Parliament. Hans Modrow reported on the initiatives of the GDR and its supreme people's representation to strengthen peace and peaceful coexistence in Europe and on the socialist society in the GDR. Enrico Vinci welcomed the relations with the People's Chamber as a new opportunity for constructive East-West dialogue, whose goal it should be to work for peace and to deepen economic cooperation. In the common European home coexistence must be shaped on the basis of reason and trust. The development in the GDR and its contribution to constructive dialogue is being observed very closely, Vinci said.

At the invitation of the PCF Federation of Bas-Rhin, Hans Modrow, heading a delegation of the Dresden Bezirk leadership, is currently visiting this departement in eastern France.

Government Spokesman Gives 26 Jan News Briefing

Council of Ministers Session

LD2601222889 Budapest MTI in English 1959 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 26 (MTI)—Foreign correspondents accredited to Budapest have, for the first time, been allowed to attend the spokesman's briefing on the session of the Council of Ministers. Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan said that foreign correspondents would now be invited to these briefings once a month so that the foreign press could be better informed about Hungarian goings-on.

He said that, among the items the Council of Ministers had today discussed were the amendment to the labour code and the draft of the strike law. In the government's view, he said, workers should have the right to strike as a final resort in protecting their just interests. Unlike the trade unions, the government felt the law under preparation should not allow for political and solidarity strikes: a strike was only sensible if it caused trouble to those in a position to correct the measures concerned. The right of assembly, or demonstration, which was adopted during parliament's latest session, offered an opportunity to voice political objections or solidarity intentions. The new law would regulate the right of strike by state administration employees according to international norms. The bill, which the government has now approved, would be put up for public debate before going to parliament.

Complying with the request of the relatives of Imre Nagy and his associates, as well as those executed in connection with the counter-revolutionary events following October 23, 1956, the Council of Ministers had decided to allow the organization of a funeral ceremony at Imre Nagy's current resting place in plot 301 of Kozma Street Cemetery, Budapest. Besides government representatives, experts commissioned by family members could also attend the exhumation. The date of the funeral, and any decision to make it public, would be entirely up to the relatives, Mr Marosan said.

On the basis of the justice minister's report, the government had decided that a law should be drafted to prevent abuses and linkage of information compiled and collected on citizens, and to provide everybody access to such files.

The government had approved the 1,300-million-forint tourist fund on condition that only 35 per cent serve as unrepayable support. In future, as much as half of the development expenditures might be loaned from the fund.

The government had made it clear that this year there would be no possibility of increasing car imports from state resources. Assembly and Hungarian-based production of car components, the subject of negotiations with Soviet partners and Japanese and South Korean firms, constituted a social and industrial policy interest. The government had undertaken to work out the conditions for car manufacture within a short time.

Answering questions, Mr Marosan stated that Hungary wanted to join the UN refugee convention, the high commission of which was to visit Hungary from February 6-9.

The government considered it unnecessary to change the Hungarian customs regulation, as it would not improve domestic supply, but would adversely influence tourism. Hungary did not wish to participate in a 'customs war', the spokesman said.

MTI's news export desk correspondent inquired about what prospective change in governmental work was referred to by the prime minister when he recently raised the possibility of a union or coalition to be formed with the alternative organizations. The spokesman said that this was the declaration of a kind of intention. The formation of a coalition government was a process where it was indispensable for the partners to clarify their political platform and mutual relationship. The government felt that its potential partners in a coalition should have the support of large masses, be ready for cooperation and compromises, and accept the responsibility incumbent on a government. The setting up of a coalition government did not necessarily mean the immediate division of ministerial portfolios. At its initial stage, partners were provided insight, or possibly a right to have a say in decision-making. For the present, however, this was only a possibility in Hungary, the spokesman said.

Another question by MTI's correspondent concerned the formation of a smaller cabinet, and the changing of governmental work. Mr Marosan spoke about plans to set up a three-tier structure headed by the Council of Ministers including ministers and leaders of the national authorities. This would be the decision-making body. The second level would be occupied by the smaller cabinet in charge of the theoretical preparation of decisions and the elaboration of political strategies. The third level would be for a system of colleges which would replace the current government committees in their function of interest coordination and problem shooting.

Comments on Imre Nagy Funeral

LD2601224489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan held an international news conference following the Council of Ministers session. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Marosan] The government heard a report on the issue of amnesty for those executed in connection with the criminal case against Imre Nagy and his associates, as well as those executed in connection with the counterrevolutionary events following 23 October 1956.

In accordance with the wishes of relatives, the funeral will take place at the current place of rest, plot No 301 of of the Kozma Street Cemetery. I am ready to answer questions.

[Unidentified correspondent] Hungarian radio. When will the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates be held? Will it be public, or will the family hold a private ceremony?

[Marosan] As to when the funeral will be held, the Council of Ministers did not discuss this, and this is not the realm of the Council of Ministers, either. This will be decided by those affected. It is probable that the relatives, too, will in some way have to participate in the identification of the remains. This will take some time. In my opinion, it will not take place before—let's say in 2 months, the end of March—but it is likely that it will not be prolonged for a year, either. Within this time frame, any date is possible.

As to whether it will be a public ceremony, this issue was not discussed, either, but it may be judged from the debate that this too will develop in accordance with the demands of the relatives. According to the briefing by the justice minister, we have reasonably precise [megkoezelitoen pontos] information regarding the graves of Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter, Miklos Gimes, and Jozsef Szilagyi. The identification of the remains of Geza Losonczi, who died in the course of the criminal procedures [buentetoe eljaras alatt], is made significantly easier by the autopsy carried out after his death. It is more or less possible to ascertain where they lie. I am sure that in the near future, you will be able to obtain much more information on this. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nemeth Interviewed on 1988, Ties With Poland

AU2001114189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 89 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by unidentified RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent: "Hungary's Premier Replies to Questions From RZECZPOSPOLITA: Stabilization Is the Cornerstone of Further Development"; date, place not given]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] What event in your country over the past year was the most significant for the future of Hungary?

[Nemeth] If I were to pick a single concrete event, I would say that it was the May MSZMP conference. I surely would not be exaggerating if I were to say that it was like a life-saving transfusion, as a result of which fresh blood entered Hungarian political life and ways of thinking generally. To continue this analogy, I would add that although it was life-saving, we need to succeed in fighting the causes of the illness to produce a recovery. Our course of therapy is a clear one: the creation of a market economy that functions properly, and the creation of a system of institutions which operates democratically and is based on broad social support organized according to democratic values. One of our government's main tasks is to institute a program of action that would enable Hungarian society to undergo this process while experiencing as few convulsions as possible. Another important development last year was the emergence of the first elements of stabilization in the Hungarian economy, which provides a basis for further development. We are ending the year with a lower balance of payments than earlier that year. However, it is, nevertheless, quite sizable—between $500-600 million, according to projections. The fact that our balance of trade in convertible currencies is a positive one and that our budget deficit amounts to less than 20 billion forints, despite earlier gloomy forecasts, provide grounds for optimism. That we were able to keep inflation within limits was also important: The projected 15-percent rate was only exceeded by one point. We are pleased that the taxation system that we introduced last year—despite legal flaws—works.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What is your country's attitude toward the idea of building a common European home?

[Nemeth] I believe in the need for and the realization of this plan. The success with which the Vienna CSCE conference is no doubt going to conclude also affirms the historic need for security and cooperation in Europe and the possibility of attaining these goals. I think that a common European home covering all of us will emerge when we are ready to overcome the current division of Europe, and we will be able to create a Europe that is uniform but one which retains its diversity. It seems to me that we should not work toward this at international forums. Individual countries can contribute most when they tailor their development to suit general European demands. This is exceptionally important, especially for the success of the restructuring process that is taking place in the Soviet Union and the reforms in the other socialist countries. I am convinced that Poland and Hungary—despite the problems and difficulties with which we are familiar—will lead in this field. I think that the growing number of signs that stabilization, socioeconomic renewal, and the reform of socialism in our countries serve the common interest of Europe and the building of a common European home is promising.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] How are prospects for our bilateral relations viewed in your country?

[Nemeth] The identical nature of our activities aimed at bringing about the socialist renewal of society along with our historical traditions and the results of our cooperation form a strong basis for the development of contacts. Our development at the present time, when one can see many analogies between our processes of economic and political reform, strengthens the need for mutual familiarity with practical experiences and their use.

In the economic sphere, we must continue to look for forms of effective cooperation that will ensure mutual advantages and the continuation and enhancement of those that already exist. In the future, we must stress the expansion of direct contacts between enterprises while taking account of our economic conditions and the irreversible nature of tasks aimed at modernizing production structures.

We must seek opportunities for expanding cultural contacts and scientific cooperation. In my opinion, the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Hungarian-Polish Relations Up to the Year 2000 ensures that a suitable framework exists for accomplishing these demanding tasks and that this thus aids the socioeconomic development of our countries and benefits the entire socialist community.

I would like to use this opportunity to wish all the readers of RZECZPOSPOLITA a happy new year from myself and all my countrymen.

Grosz To Participate in Davos Economic Forum

AU2301131289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs by correspondent identified as "Z.I.": "Karoly Grosz Will Participate in the Davos Forum"; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz will leave for Switzerland at the end of January 1989 to participate in the conference of the World Economic Forum held in Davos, it was officially reported in Budapest on 17 January. Laszlo Kovacs, who is engaged in preparing the general secretary's trip, provided us with details on this. [passage omitted]

[Question] What preceded Karoly Grosz' invitation?

[Kovacs] During his visit in France in November 1988, Karoly Grosz met with former [French] Premier Raymond Barre, who, as a world-famous professor of economics, has been one of the organizers of this forum in Davos for many years. He mentioned the intention of the organizers to invite Karoly Grosz. Raymond Barre also said that the invitation would stand even if, in the meantime, Karoly Grosz relinquished his position as premier, because one of the essential characteristics of this forum is that the participants express their opinions here mainly as private persons, irrespective of their posts. By the end of the year, the organizers also confirmed their invitation in writing. [passage omitted]

[Question] What opportunities does Karoly Grosz' participation in this forum open up?

[Kovacs] According to preliminary plans, some 1,000 people will participate in the plenary session. This provides a unique opportunity for us to provide a more thorough presentation of the Hungarian reform efforts and our foreign economic and foreign political concepts. The organizers mentioned that, in accordance with the traditional custom, the speakers would also be asked questions, and this will provide further opportunities. We will try to make use of the presence of the heads of several countries and international organizations and institutions with whom Karoly Grosz can review major bilateral issues. Preparations for such talks are under way with the Swiss head of state, the Belgian, Finnish, and Portuguese premiers, the chairman of the EEC Committee, the general manager of the IMF, and other officials. [passage omitted]

Berecz on SPOe Ties; Previews Vienna Visit

AU1901182689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Politburo member Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Peter Vajda, in Budapest : "This Is a Social Policy Process—A Dialogue Between the MSZMP and the Socialist Party of Austria"; date not given]

[Text] High-level representatives of the MSZMP and the Socialist Party of Austria (SPOe) will hold a meeting in Vienna in the near future. Peter Vajda asked Janos Berecz in Budapest about the goals of and background to this meeting.

[Vajda] What do we expect from this meeting?

[Berecz] As for the events immediately preceding this meeting, Deputy SPOe Chairman Heinz Fischer came to Hungary in November 1988. At that time we had an exchange of views on the situation in the two countries and relations between the two parties. He proposed, and later confirmed in writing, that four or five persons who have leading positions in our party or who play a considerable role in the party's scientific activity should visit Vienna and meet with a similar Austrian group to exchange views on ideological issues and social policy processes, as well as on experiences of social development.

On the basis of a mutual agreement, we will analyze the experiences of social development in Hungary and Austria in recent years and exchange views on the need for and content of reform and on further prospects for social development. We also agreed that property and market relations and their effects could also be important subjects of discussion, but we should not try for so much in advance. We could continue this informal exchange of views on property and market relations at another meeting to be held in Hungary.

[Vajda] Am I wrong when I say that the very possibility of such an exchange of views also means that there can be similar problems in countries with different social systems and at different levels of development, and that they can learn from each other? Consequently, ideological contacts are also important.

[Berecz] There are essential differences in the nature of our societies; however, a lot of problems and tasks are coming to the fore in which a mutual exchange of views could strengthen and also compensate our own experiences. When I agreed immediately to this proposal, I started from the premise that Willy Brandt, Bruno Kreisky, and Olof Palme at one time had an extensive correspondence on similar subjects. I was greatly impressed by the fact that these three great Social Democratic leaders had been dealing with reform. They said, for example, that there are reforms that strengthen the system and reforms that change the system.

[Vajda] What is the difference between the two?

[Berecz] In the case of reforms that strengthen the system, there is no need to change the basic institutions themselves but, if necessary, modifications and additions should be carried out enabling them to become more up-to-date and able to adjust to the given circumstances. However, these people think that in an economic and political crisis, reforms that change the system are needed. Of course, by this, one should understand the reform of political institutions and not of the social order. I also considered this exchange of letters and hoped that it would be interesting to compare the reform experiences of two different parties like the MSZMP and the SPOe.

[Vajda] How do you see the period of time that has brought the two parties into such a relatively close relationship?

[Berecz] This is a very interesting question because the relations between the two parties developed in a special way. Since 1958-60, both parties have been doing a lot to see to it that the relations between the two states, the two economies, the two cultures, and the spiritual life of the two nations flourish and are multilateral. We have been striving for exemplary HungarianAustrian relations. At the same time, and this is also a fact, we essentially have not been talking to each other as parties. Most people will probably remember that during his visit to Hungary, Bruno Kreisky did not visit the party headquarters, but rather met with Janos Kadar in the parliament. At that time, Kreisky considered this a matter of principle. At the same time, Kreisky was the main initiator of eliminating the cold war atmosphere concerning Hungary, putting an end to isolation maneuvers in the period after 1956, and facilitating Hungary's emergence on the European political stage.

Then, on the occasion of bilateral meetings at the head-of-state and premier levels, we also exchanged views with Austrian party officials. I previously had held regular exchanges of views with SPOe Secretary Marsch, but we stressed that these were not party contacts but rather an exchange of views between two governing parties.

Heinz Fischer has lately encouraged the idea of broadening our contacts and asked first whether we could not work together in connection with the centennial of the SPOe, a centennial that was celebrated last year. Our historians gladly accepted this proposal because the Hungarian and Austrian workers movements stem from the same root. There have been extensive professional relations between Hungarian and Austrian workers since the middle of last century. The first Hungarian workers newspaper appeared in German, while Austrians firmly regard Leo Frankel as a great figure in our common workers movement. He was also highly appreciated in their exhibition presented on the occasion of the centennial. Therefore, we do have a historical past which we can both mutually accept. There are a lot of valuable elements in this common history, and why should we not reveal these elements together?

Agreeing on this, Mr Fischer and I discussed our relations more thoroughly. I told him that when we met for the first time—our relations increased with the socialist and social democratic parties at the beginning of the seventies—we made it clear that, first, we did not want to convince each other of anything. Each of us will learn from the other, and both of us will benefit from this. Second, we do not want to convince our partner in the debate to abandon his own friends and join some sort of new "unit", nor to abandon his basic principles. Mr Fischer agreed with this and said that they also shared these principles. In this way we reached a level of contacts in which the coming meeting is an important phase.

Berecz, Nyers Arrive in Austria 20 Jan

LD2001235189 Budapest MTI in English
2159 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, January 20 (MTI)—As reported Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP, and Rezso Nyers, minister of state and member of the Political Committee, left for Vienna on Friday [20 January] at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Austria.

In the evening the Hungarian delegation met Heinz Fischer, vice-president of the Social Democratic Party of Austria and head of its parliamentary group, Josef Cap, central secretary, Peter Jankowitsch, foreign affairs spokesman, and other leading personalities of the Social Democratic Party of Austria. Present was Janos Nagy, Hungarian ambassador to Austria.

Meet With SPOe Officials

LD2201203289 Budapest MTI in English
1754 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, January 22 (MTI)—On Saturday [21 January] in Vienna, senior representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Austrian Socialist Party (SPO) held a roundtable on timely issues of social, economic and political development and the two parties' activity and aims in the field.

This was the first such meeting in the history of HSWP-SPO relations, and it was also the first time that parties of the international communist and social democratic movement held a high-level discussion on ideological and social policy issues.

The HWSP delegation to the conference included Janos Berecz, secretary of the Central Committee, Rezso Nyers, minister of state, members of the Political Committee, Tamas Szentes, deputy director of the HSWP Institute for Social Sciences and Istvan Degen, deputy head of department of the Central Committee. Janos Nagy, Hungarian ambassador to Austria, was also present. The SPO was represented by Heinz Fischer, vice-president of the party and head of its parliamentary group, Vice-President Karl Blecha, Foreign Affairs Secretary Peter Jankowitsch and Finance Minister Ferdinand Lacina.

The key-note addresses of Heinz Fischer and Janos Berecz, entitled "State, Democracy, Society" and "The HSWP and Reform Policy", were followed by the lectures of Ferdinand Lacina, "Without Economic Political Dogmas", and of Rezso Nyers, "Socio-economic Reform in Hungary".

The central theme of the subsequent lively discussion was the role played by the reforms in society. It was stressed that at present both parties, if for different reasons, have to renew themselves, and it is particularly important for them to always represent what is new and progressive in such matters as environmental protection, the quality of life, urban way of living, education and social-welfare policy. It was stated that both parties pay great attention to cooperation with other political forces of society, including coalition.

As far as the relationship of the communist and social democratic movements is concerned, there was agreement that the method of ideological struggle has by now become outdated. It was mentioned that the theory of the convergency of social systems and ideologies needs to be defined and interpreted anew with the giving up of previous prejudices. Views were set forth whether a third path between the capitalist and socialist, namely the social democratic, is viable in the development of society.

With regard to the relationship of the state and the market, it was stated that there was a close connection between operative market and operative democracy.

Participants decided to continue the conference at a later date, and agreed to release a summary of the Saturday discussion in a joint HSWP-SPO publication.

On Sunday [22 January] morning, the representatives of the HSWP saw the Vienna exhibition marking the centenary of the Austrian social democratic movement.

After the inter-party talks, Heinz Fischer, Janos Berecz and Rezso Nyers informed journalists on the meeting in Vienna on Saturday night.

The SPO vice-president said that the representatives of both parties qualified the discussion as extremely useful. Janos Berecz recalled that in the 1970s the HSWP could develop relations considerably faster with a number of other Western socialist and social democratic parties than with the SPO. With the lessening of Austrian reservations, however, there have been frequent inter-party meetings since the mid-1980s, and through the current conference the links have even gained a certain degree of prevalence. He pointed out, "both the communist and social democratic movements committed a grave error by regarding each other as a main enemy in ideology."

Rezso Nyers told journalists that Austria and Hungary appear to face the same problems in the proprietory management of state companies. The Austrian methods of keeping the effects of unemployment within limits and of social-welfare political compensation are worthy of attention to Hungary. He pointed out that the ideology of Austrian social democracy, called Austromarxism, may exert a fertilizing effect on today's reform communist endeavours.

On Sunday the Hungarian delegation returned to Budapest.

Imre Pozsgay Visits Debrecen, Kecskemet Towns

Views Political, Economic Changes

LD2101065489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Political reform is not a consolation-prize to the people for the deteriorating living conditions, Imre Pozsgay told us. The leading official was visiting Debrecen today. Karoly Toth reports:

[Toth] This morning Imre Pozsgay was able to hear unveiled, unevasive opinions of agricultural policy, the arbitrariness of the system of regulations, financial policy, and the worsened relations between the government and enterprises. The member of the Politburo and minister of state, during a factory visit and at a meeting held at the Debrecen cannery combine, was able to acquaint himself with the stands of the representatives of the county food industry enterprises.

In the afternoon, Imre Pozsgay held a county party aktiv in the Debrecen sports hall. In analyzing the political reform and the party organizations' system of relations and their interrelationship, he stated that the historic question has been decided: There will be a pluralistic political system in Hungary, and thus the party will have to compete politically to maintain its position, but it cannot make use of the tools of power for this.

As for the connection between the economic and the political reform, Imre Pozsgay expressed his opinion to our microphone and the cameras:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] It is the historical 1968 experience that the transformation of the economy cannot dispense with the reform of the system of political institutions. Are these two things in harmony nowadays?

[Poszgay] Political reform is not a substitute for economic reform; and mainly it is not a consolation prize to the people because the living conditions are deteriorating. On the contrary, the basic aim would be for the political reform to clear from the path of the economy those irrational, interventionist, and performance-worsening relations which have now put us in the very midst of an economic crisis.

[Correspondent] The initiator of the reform idea was the party. Even so, it seems as if the spirit of reform, the idea of reform, had stopped precisely in the gate of the party committees, the party institutes. Why was it so difficult for the reform to be transplanted into the party's inner life?

[Poszgay] Such confusion can indeed be seen. I think that the idea of reform does not stop at the door of the party committees, but there is a hesitancy, a sense of uncertainty in the party membership and its leading body. This is because they feel responsibility for what happened in the past 15 to 20, and let us add, for the past 40 years. One has to ponder this responsibility, this self-examination, because there stands before us a party that reviews itself, that is nervous, that in a certain sense is wrestling with its conscience. The renewal has to affect this as well; and a party that has a clear conscience, that is willing to undertake things, is conceivable only with a new program, decisive aims, and a settling of accounts with the past. [end recording]

Addresses Aktiv on Reforms

AU2501161589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 89 pp 1, 4

[Report by correspondent Janos T. Rac on speech by Imre Pozsgay, Politburo member and minister of state, at a county party aktiv held in the Debrecen town sports hall on 20 January: "Closing the Gap Is the Only Way Out"]

[Text] Imre Pozsgay addressed a public gathering of almost 3,000 people. In his introduction, he pointed out that the idea of political and institutional reform is not an episodic idea but rather one dictated by life itself. In fact, the party should have consistently carried out in previous years the analysis it has been conducting since May 1988. The desire for real reform has now become a pillar of the alliance of party and nonparty forces and of their dialogue and cooperation. We are talking about much more now than just economic constraint: The goal is to create a society suitable for its citizens' free and democratic existence. However, better and more secure forms of human and community contact can emerge only in the framework of institutions that convey the value judgments of individual groups free of distortions.

Imre Pozsgay stressed that not only the economic crisis has drawn attention to this, nor are only the Hungarian people concerned about these questions. As a whole, we are today witnessing a crisis of a previously inveterate Stalinist model in this part of Europe, rather than a crisis of socialism. Important lessons to be drawn from this are that our economy has been lagging behind those of countries that were behind us only 3 decades ago, and, in the social sphere, that one of the relevant phenomena is that human bonds have been broken, solidarity among the people has decreased, and a fragmentation has occurred among various strata and groups of the society. Perhaps one of the most striking examples of this is the fact that young people have lost their confidence in the efficiency and future of our institutions.

Imre Pozsgay stressed that the crisis in human relations and in the social order was not an indication of a catastrophe, but rather a message saying that things can no longer continue in the old way. He pointed out that because Hungary can create neither a favorable international market nor an international situation that tolerates intellectual backwardness, closing the gap is the only reasonable way out of this problem. According to Pozsgay, releasing the internal human forces is the most effective way of making use of the little reserves still available. We have exhausted everything else, he said, and he pointed out that the state, which was centralized by means of political pressure, had previously exhausted first the human labor, then the means allocated for the infrastructure, and finally the foreign resources and credits, all to make sure that our problems remained hidden and did not lead to conflicts. Therefore, it is in our economic interest to encourage new types of personalities, people who are ready to engage in ventures and are ready to act, and who do not have to exhaust their energy while facing constant and useless confrontations and defending their own existence.

Imre Pozsgay said that what has been going on for 15 years, in terms of the government's intention and reality going in two different directions, should not happen again. The analysis of previous experiences is also a decisive issue in the party, because there can be no future program without drawing upon the consequences of the past. Analysis, and not a showdown, is needed now. The fact that it was almost impossible to trace individual responsibility in this framework derives from the essence of the institutional structure that is currently disintegrating. Drawing conclusions in a civilized way is also a matter of our being Europeans, because the borders of our continent lie not where the expert geographers drew them but rather extend as far as where there are people who know and acknowledge tolerance.

Such an ability is also a basic question of political pluralism. In a competitive type of public life increasingly regulated by laws, the party can continue to be a

decisive force only if it is able to adjust to the new practices. We have no long-term means of solving political problems and debates other than through the use of persuasion, because defeat and forceful interference would only cause these problems to accumulate and increase. The party should also avoid a situation in which leaders and subordinates again go in separate directions. This, however, requires a new image of unity, which only includes decisions that have been thoroughly discussed and debated. Differing opinions strengthen, rather than hinder, the honest desire for a uniform implementation of such decisions. Imre Pozsgay stressed that one should not fear that platforms would lead to the formation of factions, because this can be a real danger only in a one-party system, but that the future party law reconfigures this situation. Only a party capable of self-determination can create a coalition and then justifiably expect the same from its partners.

In analyzing the recent historical and political past, Imre Pozsgay pointed out that the working committee which he leads has already drawn a conclusion, even prior to the end of the stage of analysis. According to this conclusion, the image and institutions of a specific party state prevailed in Hungary. This structure spread the notion that we had made good decisions, but they were not implemented. This was an illusion that was able to emerge because there was no public control and feedback—for example, about whether a given decision could at all be implemented under the specific circumstances.

Although its legitimacy is sometimes questioned, the current parliament is an increasingly suitable forum for carrying out such control. At the same time, while we are creating several new laws, we are still lagging behind in legislation. Among the laws awaiting legislation, we will soon be able to draft laws that do not need to wait for the new constitution, because these laws provide for fundamental human rights. However, we must postpone legislation on laws that depend on this new constitution, such as laws that provide for the distribution of authority between the parliament, the classic government bodies, and the institutions of direct people's sovereignty. In any case, it is true that the political reform, including the acceleration of work on preparing the new constitution, is not harmful but rather profitable for the party and policy. It is not correct to ask whether one should not first create order in our economy because the aforementioned reform could open up a smoother way precisely for our economy.

Imre Pozsgay pointed out that only balanced basic elements of reform could provide a chance to restore confidence among the various strata, sectors, and levels of society. This could also help to restore the party's political conditions and self-confidence.

In speaking about the issue of publicity, Imre Pozsgay said, among other things, that clear language is a force that supports the leadership, while the lack of clear language only conceals interests and lines of power, including all their harmful effects. A government functioning in a future coalition and a pluralistic parliament can only have a clear picture for their decisions in a situation in which there is only one kind of publicity, and not two or more. In this situation, the MSZMP is faced with the task of guiding its own press and constantly struggling to also be able to participate with its program in other political areas. It is a message from the founders of socialism for today, too, that socialism is a real movement which every day moves beyond the critical point of its previous condition.

In connection with the establishment of new social organizations, Imre Pozsgay drew attention, among other things, to the fact that this phenomenon should be accepted as it is, complete with its still immature intentions and sometimes aggressive tones. One should be aware of the fact that these have also resulted from the previous shortcomings of our political style, just like the party's uncertainty and functional disturbances. The meeting of interests expressed by these new organizations, albeit after probably tough debates and political struggles, will become a factor for increasing stability. Their activity will also help increase the party's good form and its readiness to submit itself to daily evaluation.

Answers Questions at University

LD2101195489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] According to Imre Pozsgay, neither the Romanian party nor the Romanian people should be identified with Romania's current leadership. The Politburo member and minister of state expressed this opinion when replying to questions at a Debrecen University party forum. He added that conditions unworthy of Europe prevail in the neighboring country, and that we can only hope that the Romanian Communists and the Romanian people will decide for themselves whether they consider the current conditions to be fair.

As for the four communists who were expelled from the party [in April 1988], Imre Pozsgay said that it is the purpose of the congress to decide on taking them back in, in accordance with organizational statutes. It is then a question of whether those people want to return to the party.

Says Pluralism 'Not Yet' Possible

LD2101220489 Budapest MTI in English 2013 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 21 (MTI)—On the last leg of his visit to Hajdu-Bihar County, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, gave a lecture at the first national conference of university and college party committee secretaries on Saturday [21 January].

Answering questions after the lecture concerning the reform of the system of political institutions, he said with regard to the possibility of the multi-party system, that during the latest session of the Central Committee it was formulated that the concept from the May party conference that pluralism would evolve under the one-party system could no longer be maintained. "It is obvious," Mr Pozsgay said, "that although things are proceeding towards the multi-party system, the organizational conditions of a real alternative m lti-party system do not yet exist. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Speaking of the relations of the HSWP and the Romanian Communist Party, Mr Pozsgay said that all our attempts to negotiate have so far failed. At the same time, he warned against identifying the Romanian party membership and people with the current leadership. He stated that in Romania human rights are trampled on and the prevailing political conditions are unworthy of the human race and Europe. We find it particularly painful, because two million Hungarians are also affected.

'Failed' Stalinist Model

LD2501225889 Budapest MTI in English 2101 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—It was not the idea and fundamental programme of socialism that failed in Hungary, but the Stalinist model, which destroyed the initiating readiness that exists in people, stressed Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, speaking on Wednesday [25 January] at Kecskemet Teachers' Training College. Mr Pozsgay analyzed in detail the reasons for the current crisis situation of the country, and discussed the tasks facing the party. He also spoke about the alternative movements.

Mr Pozsgay stressed that an answer to the question of how to continue could only be given if the party leadership clarified its past, and faced itself. This accounting with the past, which could in no way be identical to reckoning, had to be carried out by the party in frequently uncomfortable debates. Affairs would no longer be decided on the basis of personal authority.

In answer to a question, Mr Pozsgay said that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had to be confident that it could win a leading role for itself, and practise it with the approval of the people, a role it cannot renounce any more as there was no single political force in the country, owing to the political vacuum of four decades, which could accept such a role. A compromise consensus could lead the country out of the crisis. The party was not endangered by the independent and alternative movements, but by politically anonymous people: One never knows, said Mr Pozsgay, when their emotions will break loose. The situation did not resemble the period preceeding 1956—reform was pressing both politically and economically. Clarification of the theories relating to socialism, and of the events in 1948-1948 [as received] and 1956 were also pressing tasks, said Minister of State Imre Pozsgay.

Gyula Horn To Visit ROK To Establish Ties

SK2701061989 Seoul YONHAP in English 0600 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Seoul, Jan. 27 (YONHAP)—Hungary's Vice Foreign Minister Gyula Horn flies into Seoul Saturday [28 January] to wrap up diplomatic relations between Seoul and Budapest, the Foreign Ministry announced Friday.

During a five-day stay here, Horn will meet with his Korean counterpart Sin Tong-won to discuss the upgrading of the semi-diplomatic permanent mission status to ambassadorial level, a spokesman for the ministry said. The discussion is expected to lead to a simultaneous announcement on the matter on Feb. 1.

Seoul and Budapest exchanged permanent missions last October and December.

The announcement will mark the first time that South Korea establishes full diplomatic ties with a communist country.

Horn is also expected to sign a visa-waiver agreement between South Korea and Hungary, the spokesman said.

Marothy Concludes Slovak Talks on Gabcikovo Dam

AU2401110889 Budapest MTI in English 1655 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 22/01/1989—Laszlo Marothy, Hungarian minister of environmental protection and water management, has returned from Czechoslovakia, where he held talks, from January 19-21, with Vladimir Margetin, minister of forestry, water conservancy and the timber industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic, on water quality and sewage questions relating to the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system.

The parties to the talks agreed on the necessity of taking measures on both sides to prevent deterioration of water quality as a result of power plant operation. The relevant inter-governmental agreement, to be concluded shortly, will lay down the water quality principles and requirements connected with the construction and operation of the barrage. The ministers also stressed the importance of keeping the general public informed on the ensurance of related ecological conditions.

Laszlo Marothy held talks with Stefan Murin, first deputy chairman of the Slovak Government, who outlined his government's position that the operation of the barrage can only be licensed if the environmental requirements are met. He also pointed out that the Slovak Government increased by 10 per cent the expenditure allocated to ecological investments.

Ivan Knotek, prime minister of the Slovak Government, met Laszlo Marothy.

Environmental Plan Noted

AU2401111289 Budapest MTI in English 1308 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 23/01/1989—Hungarian minister of environment and water management, Laszlo Marothy, has agreed with his Slovakian counterpart Vladimir Margetin that they will sign an agreement on preventing the otherwise inevitable deterioration of the quality of Danube water in the huge reservoir of the Bos-Nagymaros dam.

Under the present state of affairs with all the sewage of not only Vienna and Bratislava, but several Slovakian towns and industrial plants flowing into the Danube almost without treatment, the deterioration of Danube water seems unavoidable.

The fast-flowing River Danube has a high self-purification capability but harmful pollutants may easily pile up in the water of the reservoir and settle to create a toxic mud layer.

The ultimate consequence may be a permanent pollution of the fresh water sources of the region. Some experts say the pollution may affect up to 40 per cent of the water reserves of the Carpathian Basin.

The Slovakian party has now announced they will increase the projected sum of environmental expenditures on the dam by 10 per cent.

Ex-Party Official Mlynar on C. Europe, Reforms

AU2401120989 [Editorial Report] Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian on 19 January on page 2 carries 1,600-word excerpts from an interview with Czechoslovak emigre politician Zdenek Mlynar published in the BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU on the occasion of his participation in a recent international roundtable discussion held in Hungary, under the headline: "Spanning Bloc Borders."

The former CPCZ Central Committee secretary, who currently lives in Austria, was a colleague of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at university and has written a book entitled: "What Can Gorbachev Change?" which will appear "sometime in the spring." When asked about Gorbachev's personality, Zdenek Mlynar calls him "extremely talented, honest, and much more intelligent than the average politician." He also claims that while it could be said that Gorbachev "has too much power, as both president and party general secretary," "he has to be extremely powerful in order to break the double power structure that exists in the Soviet Union: namely, the shadow structure embodied by the party apparatus."

Asked about the reform processes under way in some socialist countries and about central European realities, Zdenek Mlynar is quoted as saying that "it is impossible to reform the economy without a political reform" and that the "democratization of society is an essential condition for efficient economic development." As for the political realities currently prevailing in central Europe, according to Mlynar, "the political style of central European countries has always been clearly Western oriented," but "the often-mentioned 'Finlandization' is quite unrealistic today." However, he says he thinks that it is possible to formulate cooperation among central European countries "which span bloc borders" and that "historical traditions are favorable today for these countries to rediscover democratization and economic development, and thus become more important factors than previously."

Mlynar finds many similarities between the current Hungarian reform efforts and the CSSR reforms of 1968, and says that "reforms should be carried out simultaneously from above and below, and there should be no gap between government and society because, otherwise, the leadership that intends to carry out the reform cannot find a common language with society."

The interview concludes by quoting Mlynar as saying that "in order to find a civilized solution to contradictions and conflicts, a pluralism of ideas should be asserted in the form of various organizations and institutions, and proper forms should be established for this."

Ferenc Munnich Society's Activities Examined

LD2001235489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] The Ferenc Munnich Society already has more than 6,000 members. It was created last November as an independent organization of the People's Front, by party members and nonparty people who profess themselves to be socialists at heart. They will hold their first national consultation in the spring.

As for their program, representatives of the executive committee of the Ferenc Munnich Society told MTI that they want to work for the democratization of society and for the assertion of universal human and nationality rights. They wish to resolutely oppose Stalinism and ultraleft-wing views, and also sectarian and dogmatic views. At the same time, they oppose every attempt to turn back the clock, and thus they also oppose bourgeois regression as well. Those speaking on behalf of the society demand that public life be cleansed of corrupt elements, but they reject the propaganda that wants to turn individual corruption scandals against the entire party and the socialist system.

Jewish Cultural Body Protests Romanian Plans

AU2601112989 Budapest MTI in English 2042 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 24/01/1989—The Hungarian Jewish Cultural Association has issued a document protesting about the use of discrimination against Romania's ethnic minorities. The document, which was forwarded to MTI, states that the Jewish community is sensitive to all kinds of oppression and law violations on national, racial or religious grounds, and it rejects all possible forms of physical or mental genocide.

They propose that the Hungarian parliament should draft an immigration act allowing ethnic Hungarians fleeing Romania to adopt Hungarian citizenship.

The association demands all Romanian nationalities should be able preserve their cultural heritage, freely use their native language, study the history of the parent country and maintain contact with people living there. It calls on Romania's political leaders to put an end to their settlement policy, and protests against the village-razing plans destroying cultural values.

The association demands Romania should allow the minorities to practise their religion—Catholic, Reformed, Evangelic, Unitarian and Jewish—in their native language by traditional rite, including the celebration of religious holidays.

Skala Issues First Public Stock Certificates

AU2401130489 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Jan 89 p 7

[Text] The first public stocks have appeared on the market. Skala Sztrada Ltd has issued 5-million-forints-worth of 10,000-forint denomination stocks. Skala also promises about 10-14-percent dividends on the stocks purchased by the public. (The exact percentage can be calculated only at the end of the business year.) Demand seems to be quite high, and some 2 million [not further specified] have already been sold. Asked whether the 10-14-percent dividend is not too small compared with other forms of investment, a Skala official said that compared to other corporations, they are not offering a small dividend. Although the stocks pay less than other forms of investment, the owners of Skala stocks also acquire ownership rights with the stocks, and no other bonds can compete with this.

Solidarity, Government Begin Preliminary Talks

AU2701154989 Paris AFP in English
1512 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 27 (AFP)—Talks between leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union and the Polish Government got underway on Friday in the town of Magdalenka, 30 kilometres (17 miles) south of here, a Solidarity official said.

The official would not discuss details of the agenda for the meeting, which had been continually postponed since last November. But the talks came eight days after Polish head of state Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the legalisation of Solidarity was "negotiable" and called on the opposition to join round-table talks with the government.

Eight Solidarity representatives were present, including leader Lech Walesa and three members of the union's national executive (KKW), the official said. Eight government officials included Interior Minister Czeslaw Kiszczak, members of the United Polish Workers Party's Central Committee and at least one senior figure from the official OPZZ trade union.

Two representatives of the Polish Catholic Church were present as observers. The negotiations, which were to end later on Friday, were expected to be a precursor to "round-table" talks, between government and opposition, which official sources have said will be begin here on either February 5 or 6.

The government wants the round-table talks to last eight weeks, but Solidarity wants them to last no more than three weeks. The two sides also disagree on the spokesmen from the talks, with authorities in favour of one government spokesman and Mr. Walesa wanting one government and one Solidarity spokesman.

Walesa Calls Government Decision 'Unprecedented'

AU2501120089 Paris AFP in English
1156 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Geneva, Jan 25 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said on Wednesday that the Polish Government's decision to discuss legalising the banned union was "unprecedented", in an interview released here. Mr. Walesa told LA SUISSE daily that he believed recent events in Poland, where government and opposition have agreed to "round-table" talks on free trade unions, meant "we are taking part in something unprecedented". But the union leader warned of the dangers of demagogy and emphasized the need for a compromise "between our aspirations and reality".

Mr. Walesa was asked if he feared "a further manipulation of the working class", a reference to a plea to workers made by Edward Gierek, appointed head of the Polish Communist Party in 1970 during a wave of strikes and riots.

"It is difficult to reply", the union leader said, adding that "I still do not know what attitude to take towards the task which faces us... In any case, we must do everything to avoid letting ourselves drift". The talks, suggested last Thursday by Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, had become a symbol Mr. Walesa said.

"Poles must above all understand each other, in order to overcome the difficulties...for the country to be at the top of today's Europe", he said. "Put another way, the country must function according to the principles of pluralism, of sovereignty and must be self-managed", he added.

A one-to-one meeting with General Jaruzelski was not necessary, he said, but "it is important, rather, to solve our problems by reforms which can only be realised by pluralism. A meeting between two men will not yield a great deal".

Mr. Walesa said a Solidarity congress was needed, "the sooner, the better", though it was unlikely to be held this year because "so many things have happened within the movement".

"In any case, the congress will have to understand that the time has come to build. Between our realities and our aspirations, we must find a compromise, which will be interpreted in divergent ways: the viewpoint depending on the chair on which every one is seated", Mr. Walesa said.

"The danger is that demagogy or calls to combat will easily find a loud echo. Negotiating a compromise accepted by the majority, that is a very arduous task", he added.

Walesa Addresses Journalists at News Conference

AU2601145989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 23 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by Zbigniew Wrobel: "Lech Walesa Gives Unscheduled Press Conference"]

[Text] Lech Walesa met journalists at a brief conference given in Gdansk in connection with the statement issued by the Solidarity National Executive Commission.

L. Walesa said: "We are extending a hand, because the other side is extending a hand. What will this produce? We are—we have said this on more than one occasion—condemned to accord. Agreement is constructive, whereas disagreement is destructive. However, we have to retain our identity—we must remain free and self-governing, we must have our own organization. If all that will be possible, then compromise on obvious matters will also be possible."

He said that appropriate preparations must be made for talks with the authorities.

L. Walesa: "This time political pluralism is on the horizon. We hope that the Poles of 1989 will be wiser and better, that they will make better use of this opportunity for everyone. I am a practical person, and practice will show to what extent this is a success that Poles can go along with."

It was pointed out that the declaration does not contain the words "roundtable." Walesa replied: "Negotiations, accord, "roundtable" are interchangeable words..."

—Journalists then asked if the National Executive Commission held a vote on the policy declaration and if so, what was the outcome like.

They were told that Walesa is a great democrat and always decides things democratically. There was one abstention and 22 votes in favor.

—What is Solidarity's current position on the Independent Association of University Students and its efforts to become legal?

L. Walesa said: "We have never changed, and we consider our young colleagues to be the people who will take our place. However, we must put things in order. Today it is difficult to say who comes first.

"If it is pluralism, then new problems and conflicts will emerge, and in view of this, we need some kind of conciliation body so that the conflicts that do arise can be resolved as quickly as possible to the benefit of everyone."

Geremek on Prospects for Government Talks

PM2501163089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 24 Jan 89 p 13

[Andrea Tarquini report on interview with Bronislaw Geremek, adviser to former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[passage omitted] [Tarquini] At the Solidarity summit meeting did you broach criticisms and disputes, as Jaruzelski did at the plenum?

[Geremek] There were no clashes, only differing viewpoints and observations about the future. Solidarity's legalization will be a huge innovation but it will also pose some major imminent threats. In the country's critical economic situation Solidarity should share the responsibility for managing the crisis and the reforms.

[Tarquini] Why do you see a danger in this?

[Geremek] Because a labor union's priority concern is to manage and organize social unrest. However, we made a choice out of our sense of responsibility to the country. You know, if a ship is sinking, on board that is not the time to argue with the captain: You have to try to save the lives of all the passengers.

[Tarquini] Did you succeed in uniting Solidarity on the policy of dialogue?

[Geremek] Yes, throughout the Solidarity leadership there is a full awareness of very serious dangers and difficulties. Paradoxically, however, it was Miodowicz, head of the official unions, who lead the anti-Jaruzelski hard-liners at the plenum and who is now talking about the threat of strikes in a manner that suggests a threat. However, if the official unions decide to oppose in the factories an attempt to forge an understanding on pluralism between Solidarity and the authorities, they will be taking a great risk and will pay a high price.

[Tarquini] How do you judge the government's first reactions to your decision?

[Geremek] I see encouraging signs in the newspapers.

[Tarquini] How will the negotiations be prepared for and when will they begin?

[Geremek] Walesa has said that the time is not ripe for a summit between him and the general. Technical and political preparations for the roundtable must be accelerated. We have assigned the task of negotiators in this preliminary phase to Walesa himself, Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, and Mieczyslaw Gil. The first meetings will start as soon as possible. The Church and Catholic intellectuals can act as intermediaries. The "citizens' committee" will act as a kind of parliament behind our leaders, while they conduct the negotiations. Our priority is to launch the reforms with the government; we will negotiate all the rest, but we will not give way on our demand to remain an independent organization.

[Tarquini] Do you believe that Moscow approves of the change of course in Poland?

[Geremek] I believe so; I believe that a Poland regaining the dynamism for change is accepted by Gorbachev partly as an ally in his domestic struggle and as a test of restructuring, as the first country attempting a new model of relations between government and society. [passage omitted]

Walesa Grants Interview to Rome Daily

PM1801120089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 15-16 Jan 89 p 13

[Andrea Tarquini report on interview with chairman of former Solidarity Lech Walesa by Beata Chmiel in Warsaw; date not given]

[Text] Rome—Will Solidarity be made legal again—an equal partner in a dialogue with the Polish authorities? The answer to this question is expected from the Central Committee plenum meeting tomorrow and the following day in Warsaw. Poland is preparing with bated breath for the turning point denied to it for 8 long years, and now the long tidal wave of the Hungarian reform is

rekindling hope. On the eve of the plenum Lech Walesa issued the following appeal to the government: "Let us talk again, let us carry out the reforms together. It is in the interests of Soviet restructuring and of the success of the renewal that is now indispensable throughout the socialist camp. We hope the plenum will reach the right decisions: We are prepared to renew Poland together with the party and without wanting to take their place. We want to renew this system together with the communists in order to help Gorbachev: If he loses, if the hard-liners in both camps prevail, then it will spell the end for everyone." This was said by "the world's most famous worker," who since December has also been head of the "shadow cabinet" formed by prominent opposition representatives. Closing the previous plenum session, Jaruzelski and Prime Minister Rakowski suddenly changed their language and urged the party to relinquish its Leninist hegemony and to deal with Solidarity. "Now the Hungarian comrades have gone further than us, and we hope to follow their example," was the comment from oficial sources close to the office of Interior Minister General Kiszczak—a key man in the dialogue. Here is the interview in which Walesa sets out his platform for a dialogue and national understanding, proffering an outstretched hand to the government on the eve of the plenum.

[Chmiel] Mr Walesa, how do you assess the Polish situation: What do you expect from the government with regard to the outcome of the roundtable, the long-awaited dialogue with you?

[Walesa] Throughout the socialist bloc—in the USSR, Poland, and the other countries—reforms have become indispensable and unavoidable. The question is not whether reforms will begin, but how—whether through revolutionary jolts or through a gradual evolution. Solidarity has always proposed the latter solution. I do not know whether it will go ahead. Back in 1980 Polish society wanted to change national conditions, but at that time the government blocked the reform by introducing martial law.

[Chmiel] At that time, however, Brezhnev reigned in Moscow. Now there is Gorbachev. Does this not help the dialogue in Poland?

[Walesa] I believe so, but I also believe that all we Poles must help it. The situation in the Soviet Union is very different: There it is society that could halt Gorbachev's restructuring. If restructuring loses, the forces of dialogue will be defeated throughout the socialist camp—within both governments and societies.

[Chmiel] So is Gorbachev your ally, or are you offering him an alliance?

[Walesa] I would use a mathematical image to describe the situation throughout the socialist camp: The various countries are like fractions having a common denominator but different numerators. The common denominator is the system that we, the Soviets, the Hungarians, and all the rest inherited from Stalin. Not only from the criminal Stalin of repressive terror but also and above all from the Stalin who established the monopoly of a single party, a single labor union, and a state-owned economy. The numerators—that is, the national situations—are different. We all want to demolish the Stalinist monopoly, to remove this great obstacle to these countries' entry into the 21st century.

[Chmiel] Are you not afraid of threatening the stability of the Soviet system of alliances?

[Walesa] The choice is between reforms and a people's revolution that will eliminate the entire system. The more freedom the peoples of all our countries acquire—each according to its own specific national situation—the smaller such threats of bloodshed.

[Chmiel] Do you believe that the great negotiations are viewed by the governments in Warsaw and Moscow as a helpful move or as a threat?

[Walesa] The roundtable is a symbol of the possible understanding in our country, with a view to averting rebellions. We are pacifists and believe that in Poland's future there is room for the government and the party. We want to investigate with them the possibility of changing the country. We do not want to take their place but want to deal with them on an equal footing. We are asking that at the negotiating table there be representatives of all the groups in our increasingly pluralistic society and that the negotiations (like the current contacts between government and opposition in Budapest—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note) serve to build a new Poland, not to salvage the present model.

[Chmiel] Do you believe that the government accepts these stances?

[Walesa] I believe it has become possible to secure Solidarity's recognition through negotiations, not through sticks and stones—that is, not through violent demonstrations. Unless we reach an accord, however, young people will take their own path, and this will cost everyone dear—both me and the government. If we fail to come to an agreement and leave the initiative to the radical groups we could perhaps even pay in the form of bloodshed.

[Chmiel] What are the obstacles to the negotiations?

[Walesa] The fact that all of us in Poland still have an old-fashioned way of thinking; we lack a "new way of thinking." Let me explain: The party wants to retain all its positions of privilege and power, while society wants immediate redress for all the wrongs it has suffered. The time has come for everyone to change. Neither the conservation of the present system nor a settling of

scores can produce innovation. I am afraid because of the shortage of time available, but even if the path of negotiation fails I will remain in favor only of nonviolent actions.

[Chmiel] Not everyone in Solidarity agrees with you, however. The youngsters seem ready even for a physical confrontation. What do you think of this?

[Walesa] There are many paths leading to the same goal. They attack me, accuse me of pursuing the peaceful path. I do not know whether I am right, but I remain convinced in my preference for a peaceful struggle. I do not want to rupture the country's economic fabric or prompt social conflicts: I believe this would harm everyone. I believe in the struggle of arguments, not in brawling. Am I wrong and are the "radicals" right? I do not know: Walesa does not hold the patent on wisdom. I am not combating them even though they attack me. I could try to defeat them but I do not want conflicts. I say this for the sake of resolving the country's problems on the basis of respect for diversity, not on a violent basis. We in Solidarity should set an example: While awaiting the roundtable, with my hand outstretched to the government, I appeal to people for understanding and wisdom, but also for determination and an approach appropriate to our time.

[Chmiel] Are you not afraid that Poland risks isolating itself from the other Eastern bloc countries by pursuing excessively different or reckless paths?

[Walesa] You know, among you in West Europe the trend is toward the abolition of borders. Here this still seems like a romantic dream, but the world is moving in that direction, toward increasing interdependence. Of course here our economic levels and political situations must be more consistent both among ourselves and with respect to you. It will be a slow process: This system cannot change overnight. We are carrying forward our plan for a slow advance toward democracy—a democracy not directed against anyone. And I know that other peoples—the Hungarians, like the Baltic peoples—will follow this path.

DPA Reports on 'Murdered' Priest's Funeral

LD2601230289 Hamburg DPA in German 1728 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Thousands of people took part in the funeral for the murdered priest Stefan Niedzielak in Warsaw Thursday [26 January]. Members of the old Polish Home Army, who were under the command of the government-in-exile in London during the war, paid their last respects to the deceased. Many wore World War II uniforms or had tied scarves from the concentration camps. An urn with earth from the forest of Katyn near Smolensk, where several thousand Polish officers were murdered in 1940, was laid in the priest's grave.

The Catholic Church leadership was making visible efforts to dampen indignation about the priest's death. The primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, appeared shortly before the start of the service and said that priest Niedzielak died "violently and not of natural causes". Other speakers made no secret of their conviction that the priest was murdered for political reasons.

The head of the Curia of Warsaw, Zdzislaw Krol, described Father Niedzielak as a "Martyr of Poland". Krol, who was the first person to be summoned when Niedzielak's bloody body was found early Saturday, reported that the urn with the earth from Katyn had been found in the priest's safe. All the speakers underlined that Niedzielak had made it his mission to keep alive the memory of the Poles who were killed in the Soviet Union or died in the camps. Recently he had also tried to obtain aid for Poles still living in the Soviet Union and for the victims of Stalinism in Poland. One of the speakers confirmed that Niedzielak had received anonymous threats recently.

Ciosek Answers Questions on 10th Plenum

AU2701130689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jan 89 p 2

[PAP report: "A Consolidation of Representative Bodies of Authority"]

[Text] During a meeting with Sejm deputies belonging to the PZPR, ZSL, and SD Deputies Clubs and nonaffiliated deputies on 19 January, Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, answered questions about the 10th plenum and the documents adopted by it.

He emphasized in particular the party's consistent aim to develop a system of pluralistic parliamentary democracy, and the growing status of representative bodies of state authority at all levels. An expansion of the coalitional system is consolidating the Sejm's position as the highest legislative body in the socialist state, and creating a new platform for it to exercise its control functions vis-a-vis the government. Many of the solutions contained in the 10th plenum documents are completely new. Not possessing too much experience in this field, we must create new mechanisms of joint activity between various political forces that respect the constitutional political principles of the socialist state, S. Ciosek said.

Czarzasty's Address to Plenum Reported

AU2001172489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jan 89 p 3

[Speech by Zygmun Czarzasty, PZPR Central Committee secretary and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Slupsk, at the second part of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 17 January]

[Text] As someone who was carried away by socialist ideas and entered the party while still in his youth, I would like to speak in support of those socialist values

that were closest to me. What attracted me to socialism above all was not the aspect of necessity, but the element of man's choice, the importance of his opinions, and thus, it was a love of freedom, democracy, and pluralism. That is why today I would like to identify myself closely with the draft resolutions for the 10th plenum and speak in support of ideological pluralism.

We are setting out issues in this manner for the first time, and that is truly Marxist. It was in 1891, in the Erfurt Program that was written by Engels, and thus by a Marxist, that the question of ideology was deemed a personal matter for the first time.

Today I would like to speak in favor of political pluralism. The things that are happening at the initiative of our party and the things that are being prepared by the government, like the draft law on associations, are introducing political pluralism in the modern sense of the word. We had laws from before the war, from the years when freedom was so cherished, but these laws controlled things too much—they set out what was not permitted and what an organ of state could do, and so on. Today I firmly believe that the supreme authority, that is, the Sejm, will support these national aspirations, so that everybody can form associations on the basis of the general principle that the legal order is respected. This stems from people's aspirations, and it is a condition for fostering an elite at work instead of appointing one.

I am also in favor of the Politburo's position on trade union pluralism and am a strong advocate of it. This issue prompts a great deal of heated discussion in Poland and among Poles. Pluralism is a social need, and it is not a gesture on the part of the authorities or the party. It is, quite simply, the realization of workers' aspirations for other unions with an identity of their own. However, we must realize that today a great many doubts have grown up around this path, because we already had pluralism in 1980. I remember what it produced. Only martial law could ward off the mortal danger that was faced by Poland and the Poles.

Shortly after martial law, the October 1982 law stressed the desire of the party and of the Sejm to create unions that suit the working people. That is why it is worth talking about this today, but doing so frankly. That is why in talking about this we must remember the conditions, conditions of an obvious kind, that stem from the legal order, from guarantees for the republic and peace for the Poles. That is why today we have to talk about the fact that there must be social accord for this to succeed—accord among all Poles in the interests of peace and calm. That is what Poland needs, and Poland is our highest responsibility.

It should not be forgotten that all those who sincerely desire pluralism and the fulfillment of the aspirations of the people and the workers class must remember to refrain from a policy of faits accomplis. There is no freedom without the rule of law. Whoever defines the limits of the law for himself, destroys other people's laws. We have to be consistent in this respect. To satisfy these precepts, we must look after the strength and the standing of our socialist state.

At this moment in time it is impossible to ignore our trade unionists, our class brothers. They were the ones, who, from the very outset, took up the difficult task of organizing and uniting the divided workers class. They were the ones who, out of concern for class interests, took up matters that had been forgotten, such as the housing problem, for example. Perhaps they are not doing so with sufficient force, perhaps they are not tough enough.

The class, workers character of policy is reflected above all in activity that satisfies the basic needs and aspirations of the workers class. These matters are not only close to the hearts of the class union, they also appear on their banners. They were and remain our first ally. We constantly pin our hopes on them. We entrust this matter to the constitutional organs, to the State Council and the Sejm. We believe that this will not disappoint these hopes, aspirations, and Poland's national interest.

I would like to turn to our party, because it was you who chose to make me responsible for party affairs in the Central Committee Secretariat. The party arose out of the aspirations and wishes of the Polish left, and it will always remain on the left. It cannot be forgotten that the third republic, its program, its aspirations, and its borders are the product of the Polish left. The left is the guarantor of the republic and it can, is, and is becoming the guarantor of the reforms.

If the party is to be the guarantor of the reforms it must change, it must benefit from the will of its mass membership, and it must make the party member and the primary party organization play a more active role.

Today there must be fundamental changes. The party and its organizations have been geared toward the "top." That is where success and the directives came from. What is important is something entirely different. The primary party organization should be the first, independent, and freely thinking unit of the party. Its thoughts must lie at the bottom of the leadership's ideas concerning programs. The party leadership and party echelons should serve the primary organizations. Everyone in our party must feel that he is an active agent and feel that he has power. That is why reforms are being proposed, including a structural reform of the Central Committee, that go toward achieving this.

The most important thing is to involve more of the public in the work of party committees. The concepts and programs advanced by narrow, bureaucratic, ruling echelons can no longer be expected to survive. They must be drawn up by a mass group so that they enjoy mass support, and are implemented in a mass way. That is why the decisionmaking process should involve the

broad participation of the party masses, the members of party ruling bodies, the aktiv, the professional party apparatus, and people who are not members of the party.

This will be achieved through the work of Central Committee commissions that concentrate party forces in specific communities. This system of work has produced positive results in a whole number of voivodship party organizations, so it must also produce results on the scale of the party as a whole.

I would also like to turn to the party apparatus, which is and should be the supporting structure. It is not a question of the apparatus being bureaucratic. The party has the apparatus that it creates. Only a bureaucratic party can have a bureaucratic apparatus. It is question of bringing together all efforts and determination in one direction, that is, forward, toward dealing with people's concerns. Wherever we take up people's matters—matters that do not stem from our imagination, but from needs and people's wishes—we will enjoy influence and support.

Orzechowski Explains PZPR Plenum Ideas

PM1901131389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski by A. Bondar in Warsaw: "The PZPR in the New Conditions"; date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—"Are we going to carry out a kind of coup in the party? Yes, you could call it that." Those words, said by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, in December during the first part of the 10th plenum, are also a good characterization of the subsequent party discussion and the course of the second part of the plenum, which began 16 January and ended at 0300 hours yesterday. The difficult discussion and clashes of views produced decisions intended to restore the party's prestige in society.

Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, agreed to tell APN's correspondent in Poland about some of the questions which Polish communists discussed at their meeting in Warsaw.

[Bondar] Correspondents are describing many of the plenum's decisions as a sensation: for example, the positive attitude toward the problem of trade union pluralism (produced, incidentally, during a difficult debate lasting many hours) or elections to the Sejm and political pluralism. Which of the problems discussed at the plenum do you consider most important?

[Orzechowski] The most important included the conviction expressed by the PZPR Central Committee of the need for fundamental changes in the party and the definition of the main areas of its activity and means of implementing those changes. Resolute changes in the party are the essential condition of the success of the strategy of socialist renewal and of the effectiveness of the reforms in the state and the economy. The 11th PZPR Congress will provide a summary of the present stage of those changes.

[Bondar] The expression "politicization of the party" has appeared in the Polish political lexicon. What does this mean in practice, in Poland's actual conditions?

[Orzechowski] A constituent of the program of reforming changes is the new philosophy of the party's leading political role in society. The issue is to give the party political features. In accordance with the new understanding of its role and place in the state and economy, the PZPR is consciously renouncing the supplanting of organs of state power and administrative and managerial functions. It is becoming, first and foremost, the ideological-political and leading force of society and the source and drive of the reform processes and progress. The party formulates the goals, programs, and tasks which it implements via the activity of its members in all links of administration and in state, economic, and social institutions. The party uses the political and parliamentary mechanisms to evaluate and monitor government and administration. The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum deems it necessary to outline in specific terms the limits of the competence and responsibility of legislative power as well as of executive and judicial power. The party's functions will be separated from those of the state organs. It is necessary to clearly define the responsibility of the government and the way its activity will be evaluated.

This is going to be a difficult process, rapid initially but lengthy in implementation and even in a certain sense painful, requiring creative initiative, persistence, and determination. Its main aim is to ensure the more successful building of a modern, new model of socialism in Poland.

[Bondar] The plenum emphasized the significance of the development of intraparty democracy and the building of intraparty life on sound principles when the clash of viewpoints, opinions, schemes, and programs is the rule. The ancients were right when they said that the truth is born of debate. But does that not waste the energy and time needed for action? Or is this a change in the principle of democratic centralism?

[Orzechowski] Every political party tries to gain power, then retain and exercise that power. This is impossible without coordinated action. It is possible or, more accurately, necessary to discuss, debate, and even argue. When the time to act comes, however, the most important thing is the monolithic nature and effectiveness of the party as a political force. This is the essence of democratic centralism. But this also entails problems.

There is a universal conviction in our party that there has been too much centralism in it until now. Can the formula be expressed the other way around: implementation of the principle of "centralist democracy? In other words, how to ensure dynamic equilibrium, how to find the golden mean? We are planning measures which make the procedure of seeking and selecting cadres at all party levels as democratic as possible and which increase the independence and initiative of primary organizations. This is also a question of the possibility of important decisionmaking via the confrontation between different program concepts and the use of all-party referendums. These and other measures should help the democratization of the party and at the same time not reduce the efficiency or effectiveness of its actions but, on the contrary, increase them.

The plenum's decision says: the maximum democracy in the program searches, in debates and discussions, and throughout intraparty life—but at the same time the maximum discipline and efficiency in actions and in the implementation of decisions made. The future will show how far we succeed in approaching that ideal in practical party life.

[Bondar] There are powerful divisions in Polish society now. I have in mind convictions, orientations, and the property situation. There are those who say that the traditional division into classes is now very hypothetical. Whom and whose interests does the party represent now?

[Orzechowski] The PZPR represents the interests of people of labor in Poland, with the working class occupying a special place among them. The categories "working class," "people of labor," and "the people" are not contradictory. On the contrary: The working class is a part of the people of labor, and they form the main part of the people.

In creating socialism—a system of social justice—the party objectively represents the interests of the working class. It is the party in particular which is interested in building a society free of exploitation.

It is true that the working class in Poland today—like all our society, incidentally—is heterogeneous. In its practical activity the party must first represent the interests of the most creative and progressive people, who seek radical changes and are prepared for the social risk associated with that.

[Bondar] The plenum recognized that there is a constructive political opposition within the framework of the system existing in the country. It also recognized the concept of "opposition" as an element of the political system. Would you comment on this tenet for us, please?

[Orzechowski] The Central Committee felt it necessary to define the new formula of political pluralism as the mandatory condition of the creation of a democratic, law-governed socialist state which would meet people's needs and their desire to assume their share of responsibility for the country. Political pluralism must express the natural distinction and diversity of the political interests, orientations, and convictions of the groups and strata existing in society. Consequently it must help resolve the contradictions and disputes without harming the principled values of the social system, on a basis of legality, within the framework of the existing state structures and not in conflict with them.

One element of the new approach is the inclusion of a constructive opposition in the political system. In present conditions they may be associations, political clubs, or centers of sociopolitical thought.... Their ideas could be expressed at parliamentary level by clubs and deputies groups in the newly elected 10th Sejm.

The plenum supported the holding of elections to the Sejm on the new principles at the earliest possible date.

The timing of the elections depends on when the representatives of the authorities and of the various sociopolitical organizations, movements, and the constructive opposition hold their roundtable meeting. It is necessary to define the organizational forms and principles of representation of the various political forces in the Sejm and to elaborate the election statutes.

[Bondar] The most difficult discussion at the plenum concerned trade union pluralism: How many trade unions should there be at an enterprise—one or two? Will extremist forces not take advantage of the opportunity to try to transform the new trade union into an instrument of political pressure?

[Orzechowski] The PZPR Central Committee's position has been defined in a special document. The party speaks about the need for a strong, independent, socialist trade union movement in Poland. A trade union movement reflecting the differences in Polish society's consciousness is necessary for the healthy functioning of the system of people's power.

Taking into account the improvements in the movement toward national accord, the democratization of political life, and the country's development needs, the Central Committee supported the abolition of the legal restrictions on the creation of new trade unions. In taking such a stance, the Central Committee is guided by the conviction that the newly created trade unions will struggle for the development of the economy; that they will support the reforms, bearing in mind that the production of material assets is the condition of their activity; that they will act in accordance with the Constitution and the law as well as the status of trade unions; and finally, that the new organizations will not disrupt social peace and the stability of the state.

To achieve all that it is necessary to hold a roundtable meeting to elaborate, for example, specific political and legal guarantees. I talked about this in my plenum speech with the utmost sense of responsibility for the decision being made. The tragic experience of recent years is deeply rooted in the memory of every Pole, and there is a serious and real danger today that we might decide to expand trade union pluralism in Poland without the necessary guarantees.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Makes Statement

LD2601200189 Warsaw PAP in English
1720 GMT 26 Jan 89

[By Stanislaw Filipczak, Jerzy Redlich]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 26—"In conducting our policy we are open as no one else. Please show me a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of another state who at the beginning of the year would present practically the whole program of political meetings for this year," stated Stefan Staniszewski, the press spokesman of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs when asked about the importance of his statement delivered at the beginning of the conference. The statement reads in part:

Progress in the field of national agreement in Poland clearly shows our Western partners that they should move from words to deeds and look pragmatically at concrete possibilities of engaging themselves in the economic reconstruction of our country. This lies not only in the interest of Poland but also her partners, particularly the biggest creditors.

Making use of the possibilities latent in international cooperation, loosening the debt stranglehold, are all very important precisely at this moment.

The conclusion of the CSCE debates in Vienna opens new prospects for the realization of the contents of the Jaruzelski plan. Our proposal should play a significant role in the negotiations of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states on reducing armed fores and conventional and security building measures on our content.

We will actively advocate a perfection of the structures and mechanisms of multilateral cooperation within the frame of the Warsaw Treaty and the CMEA. We speak in favour, not since today, of creating a socialist common market based on parity and the convertibility of our currencies. Together with Western states we will strive to remove stumbling blocks on the road to full normalization of financial-credit relations. We will negotiate with the EEC an agreement on trade and economic cooperation. We are counting on signing it this year.

We intend to intensify contacts with the (?Council of Europe) and develop dialogue with the European Parliament.

1989 will be a year of important international contacts. Important official visit of the president of the Council of State of Poland are envisaged. Next month Premier Rakowski will pay an unofficial visit to France. He will also stay in other countries. The international activity of our parliament will not weaken. Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski will this year visit London, New York, Rome and Tokyo. Another delegation of parliamentarians headed by Jozef Czyrek will pay a visit to the U.S. and Canada.

The calendar of this year's talks and contacts of Foreign Affairs Minister Tadeusz Olechowski is rich. He will visit, among other places, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, Libya, the FRG, and the USSR. In Warsaw he will receive the foreign ministers of France, Nigeria, the GDR, Switzerland and Sweden.

As concerns politicians arriving to Poland this year, we expect that as a result of an official visit by President Mitterrand to Poland, relations with France will take on a new character. Our relations and cooperation with the Nordic states will also be boosted: in April we wait Finnish President Mauno Koivisto in Warsaw. An important political visit from Italy is also being arranged.

In our country we will also play host to the U.N. general secretary. Moreover, we expect a visit of delegations of parliamentarians and other political activisits from various countries.

We are also counting on a fundamental improvement of our relations with the FRG and that still open matters will find solutions. After Premier Rakowski's and Minister Olechowski's visits to the FRG, this improvement of relations should be crowned by an official visit of the federal chancellor, Helmut Kohl to Poland.

This year's visit of King Juan Carlos to Poland will endow our relations with Spain with a new dimension.

In relations with Great Britain we will implement the arrangements from last year's visit to Poland by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

We expect the new American administration to continue the earlier started dialogue with Poland. As concerns the full regulation of our good relations with the Holy See, both sides are interested in this. We have facturally entered the final stage of preparations. This will be an important political act, important for the development of the situation inside the country.

We await that this year our good relations with countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America will develop further more. The January visit of Iran's premier to Poland augured this. We expect the progress in the implementation of reforms to create better prospects for the development of our economic cooperation with these states.

Stefan Staniszewski next replied to questions put by newsmen.

Rakowski's Visit to Bonn

I think that Premier Rakowski's visit to the FRG had big political importance. This was on the whole the first, though unofficial, visit of a Polish premier to the FRG, the spokesman pointed out.

Both heads of governments, Premier Rakowski and Chancellor Kohl have empowered their personal envoys, Ernest Kucza, the head of the Foreign Department of the PUWP CC and Horst Teltschik, a director at the federal chancellor's office, to negotiate an agreement which would regulate open and disputed issues in relations between both states.

I hope that the positive results of negotiations between the special plenipotentiaries will create premises for Chancellor Kohl to be able to pay an official visit to Poland this year, Staniszewski stated.

Reduction of Armed Forces of the GDR

In Poland we welcomed with satisfaction and respect Erich Honecker's announcement of a unilateral decrease of the manpower of the National People's Army of the GDR as well as a reduction of expenditures for defence goals, the foreign spokesman said.

The initiative of the GDR leader constitutes a definite contribution to a lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe.

Pomeranian Bay

Talks of Polish and GDR experts concerning the line of demarcation of the territorial waters in the Pomeranian Bay proceed with great intensity at the moment. Both sides are interested in concluding the talks shortly and in negotiating an appropriate agreement.

Incident Between Polish Tourist, GDR Customs Officers

It is to be regretted that there occurred an affray between a Polish tourist and GDR customs officers. Press of both countries gave different, sometimes contradictory accounts of the events. Prosecutor's offices in Poland and the GDR carry on investigations in order to determine the facts. Appropriate conclusions will be drawn after they will have finished their work.

Polish Visit by Iran's Premier

The visit of Iran's Premier Mir Hoseyn Musavi was the result of the recent years' development of political relations between Poland and Iran and the manifestation of the strive [as received] of both states at the development of cooperation, in particular the economic one. In general, the point is to substantially increase trade turnover (to amount to hundreds of millions of dollars annually) through the growth in Poland's export of goods and services and import of oil.

Relations Between Poland, Latin American Countries

This year will see our further moves to boost the development in relations between Poland and Latin American states. It is also meaningful that Latin America is the dwelling place of over 1.5 million persons of Polish descent who contributed significantly to the shaping of the statehood of those countries.

This year, we will strive at the expanding of our relations with Latin American states and at making them concrete. I mean here, in the first place, closer economic cooperation including joint ventures and also political contacts. Poland's Foreign Vice Minister Jan Majewski is to carry on consultations in Mexico, Brazil and Argentina at the end of this February.

Situation of Employees of Poland's Embassy in Afghanistan

We follow the current events in Afghanistan with anxiety and concern. In our opinion, there is still a chance for solving the conflict through political means which would account for the interests of all the sides concerned.

As far as the Polish Embassy is concerned, a number of decisions has been taken to ensure its safety. We take into consideration even the total evacuation of the Embassy.

Poland-Israel

Polish stand on Israel has not changed. However, we take into account in our policy the evolution of the attitude of the PLO towards Israel. We are of the opinion that there will be called a conference on the Middle East issues, which will be a major step towards the settlement of the situation in that region.

The separating of the Israeli Section of Interests in Poland from the Embassy of the Netherlands aimed at annulling of the hitherto (?friction).

Round Table [subhead]

It is very probably that the round table debate will begin on this Feb. 5 or 6. A preliminary meeting on technicalities preceding the talks is expected to take place this week. I do not think that foreign policy will be among the topics of the debate. However, the introduction of political pluralism cannot prove neutral to the shaping and socializing of the foreign policy of this state.

The stand of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum on pluralism aroused considerable interest and amicable feelings in many countries, including also Poland's creditors. The results of the round table debate and the possible national agreement may influence Poland's economic foreign relations.

Celebrations of the Bicentenary of French Revolution

The Bicentennary of the French Revolution will be marked in Poland by special events. The Government of France presented the Universities of Warsaw and Lodz and the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw with satellite dishes to enable them to better follow the bicentenary celebrations throughout the world.

Olechowski Expounds on Foreign Policies

PM2501150189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski: "Politics Without Stereotypes. UN Speech: Impetus for Questing and Action"]

[Text] Warsaw, January—The beginning of 1989 prompts us to ponder two things: what already exists and has been done, and what may happen and ought to be done. I would like to share my thoughts on the topic of Polish foreign policy at this moment. I will concentrate my attention on the things that are most important for Poland and Poles today.

In my opinion, three questions deserve particular attention. They are our relations with the Soviet Union at a time of change in both countries, the role of Polish foreign policy in light of the topical transformations in my country, and the European aspects of Poland's international policy set against the backdrop of the development of East-West relations. My article has in many respects been prompted by the important decisions that the Soviet leader M.S. Gorbachev announced from the rostrum of the 43d UN General Assembly session 7 December last year.

Our alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR have long been a fundamental principle in Polish foreign policy. However, never in the history of our relations have the political leadership and—this is particularly important—the peoples of both countries been so close in their feelings and endeavors as now. We are witnessing and at the same time coauthoring, as it were, the formation of mutual relations of a qualitatively new nature, which are assuming ever-increasing general human significance.

Our developing partnership in all spheres also expresses our genuine desire for practical rapprochement—reciprocal, direct, outright cooperation. An interesting idea was voiced in the Soviet leader's New York speech: Domestic transformation processes cannot attain their national goals solely by proceeding on "parallel courses" with others, without making use of the achievements of the world around them and the potential for equitable cooperation. In fact, is it really possible these days to live, develop, and resolve joint problems normally in conditions of marked isolation, if this concerns the countries of East and West, or in conditions of passive and limited contacts, if we're talking about socialist countries?

We can see how contacts and business ties are established, developed, and modernized in border regions between production and trading enterprises, research centers, cultural establishments, and representatives of the most varied circles of our countries. It is they, the individual citizens of Poland and the Soviet Union, who are the co-organizers, common masters, and creators of many forms of cooperation. It is they who derive greater benefit than ever before from this and direct advantage for themselves. I would say that the process of the collectivization of our relations is continuing.

The masses' unequivocal reaction to the Declaration on Cooperation in the Sphere of Ideology, Science, and Culture signed in 1987 by W. Jaruzelski and M.S. Gorbachev, the atmosphere accompanying the implementation of this document, and the warmth and cordiality with which Poles greeted the Soviet leader in the course of his visit to Poland in the summer of 1988 illustrate the qualitatively new relations between our countries. This last event is of particular significance. It convincingly confirmed that the durable historical foundations of Polish-Soviet friendship have become even firmer and the friendship itself has been considerably enriched and, I would observe, has been rapidly developed.

This consistent progression is based on the radical reforms of the sociopolitical and economic systems in both countries and the resolution with which efforts are being made both in the Soviet Union and Poland to escape from the narrow, conservative frameworks of former stereotypes and the desire to elaborate a truly humanist, democratic, and effective model of socialist society that accords with all modern requirements.

It is no coincidence that the long-awaited changes in international politics have taken place against this backdrop and that the new political thinking is asserting itself before our very eyes. Everyone has noted the Soviet side's different view of itself and the world around it. The increased activeness of USSR foreign policy, distinguished by its purposefulness and flexibility, is graphically visible. Things that recently were impossible or hard to imagine—such as an improvement in USSR-U.S. relations and East-West relations on the whole and progress in the disarmament sphere and in resolving regional conflicts—are today becoming reality.

Positive transformations in international relations have never been a matter of chance. World public opinion and the representatives of influential forces who are sometimes far from sympathetic to the ideas of socialism have

perceived and acknowledged the tremendous significance of the new, realistic, and flexible policy of peace, the easing of tension, and cooperation—a policy free of dogma yet consistent and aggressive—such as that being pursued by the socialist world and primarily a power such as the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the policy of the new thinking logically stems from the truly revolutionary changes within the socialist countries. An inverse relationship can also be detected: The more stable the international situation becomes, the better relations become with the outside world and the more favorable the preconditions for implementing political and economic reforms within our countries.

That is why Polish foreign policy considers its main principle to be support for the process of reform at home. We are endeavoring to shape and implement foreign policy so that it is not only allied with but also provides powerful stimulus for domestic reforms.

At the same time it is clear that the constant, classic aim of Polish international policy is to consolidate the country's security and effectively support the processes of relaxing tension and of disarmament. There is hardly any point in assuring PRAVDA's readers of Poland's active support for the Soviet proposals in this sphere, or its creative participation in promoting common measures within the Warsaw Pact. This stems from Polish state interests and is our political alphabet. It is not only a matter of alliance loyalty and mutual assistance but of our own national interests that are closely linked with our allies' interests.

These interests are the source of our own initiatives aimed at strengthening universal security, deepening the processes of slackening tension, and deepening international cooperation in all spheres. We have always—from the Rapacki Plan to the Jaruzelski Plan—been guided by the following political philosophy: Seek your own security in the security of others, that is, first hold talks, seek agreements, and create trust.

During the era of the new thinking in international relations, during the time of marked improvement in the East-West situation, openness in relations with the outside world, and the ever-increasing significance of medium-sized and small states, we are broadening our dialogue and persistently seeking to continue it—boldly, without ideological prejudice. Poland's foreign policy in 1988 was characterized by openness toward all partners, in various directions, and in all spheres. Our national interests and the quest for and utilization of all opportunities and potential for contacts and cooperation were the main criteria.

It is understandable that, guided by these aims, Polish foreign policy unequivocally supports any actions aimed at fundamentally changing international relations for the better and effecting a transition from ordinary coexistence to "joint creation" and "joint development." I deliberately cited M.S. Gorbachev's words from the UN rostrum. The future of interstate relations lies in their deideologization and consideration of the many available options for social development. The Soviet leader's new proposals met with great attention in Poland since they accord with the vital interests of the Polish people and the concept of Polish international policy.

At his recent meeting in Moscow with the representatives of the Trilateral Commission M.S. Gorbachev announced a program of reductions in the USSR Armed Forces, including the withdrawal from East Europe of a number of formations and units which give an offensive character to the grouping located there, a reduction in the numerical strength of the Army and Navy, and a reduction in the military budget. These steps, which are being undertaken to give concrete substance to the present defensive nature of USSR military doctrine, have met with support in our country.

As I have already pointed out, Poland remains a reliable ally of the USSR and an active member of the socialist community and wants to broadly cooperate with other countries, particularly in Europe. Our national interests are historically linked with European traditions. This linkage is brought about by geographical, cultural, and many other conditions. The future of Europe and the role that we Poles will play in the structural development of our common continent is of considerable importance to us. Incidentally, in my opinion Poles' political thinking is also changing in this respect.

Over the centuries a kind of syndrome concerning our geographical position has become firmly established. We defined our position in terms of historical fatalism since we were "between great powers"—Germany and Russia. The European political and territorial realities that took shape as a result of World War II and were consolidated in legal form de facto and formally, and which represented, inter alia, a different socialist Poland within changed, secure borders, also brought about considerable changes in Poles' views of the continent and of their own place and role in this part of the world.

We uphold Europe as a whole, Europe as unity in diversity. The idea of a "common European home" is one in which every apartment will be both secure and attractive and in which collaboration between the inhabitants will increase both the achievements of everyone together and every individual and coincide with many Polish ideas and initiatives. Moreover, we do not want to sit back and wait passively for the situation to develop, playing as it were the role of a benevolent but inactive neighbor. I believe it is the opinion of most of my compatriots that Poland can to some extent assume special additional functions in the process of the "Europeanization of Europe" in order fittingly to play the role of a firm bridge uniting the European East with the West, the role of an integrating factor and active coauthor of the all-European concept of the continent's unity.

I realize that this is still only the prelude to the future. But given the Soviet Union and M.S. Gorbachev's well-known activeness, it is, however, already becoming the subject of detailed consideration. We are active participants in this platform for contemporary political development both through bilateral contacts and in the vast international arena; suffice it to recall the recent Warsaw conference for parliamentary representatives from Europe, the United States, and Canada. We are guided by the conviction that what is good for Europe is also good for Poland. We reckon that the process of filling in the abyss of discord and demarcation and the process of disarming the potentials for confrontation and mistrust must be speeded up. The rate of change, the boldness and farsightedness of initiatives, and the flexibility of policy—that is what, in my opinion, is most important for Europe today.

The extent to which it will prove possible for us and all the people of the world to make this year a year of progress in Europe and throughout the world is dependent on many factors. One of them, I repeat, is the position, the very status of the socialist states, their successful domestic development, and the effectiveness of their political and economic reforms. I believe that the efforts in this direction taken both in the Soviet Union and Poland are having a tangible effect.

Urban Briefs Journalists at News Conference

AU2301131889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jan 89 pp 1, 8

[Transcript of news conference by government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 17 January]

[Text] The government spokesman held another press conference for Polish and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 17 January. Here is the transcript:

[Urban] As we know, the second part of the 10th PZPR plenum is taking place at the same time as this press conference. A very lively discussion is taking place, full of varied opinions on major issues, including the draft stance on political and trade union pluralism. The results of the plenum are still not known, so I can only conduct today's conference from the sidelines of the mainstream of Polish political events, as it were.

I know that Premier Rakowski is supposed to speak today. Deputy Premier Sekula is supposed to speak as well. Until the plenum adopts a resolution, I have nothing to say about it.

The Spanish paper ABC, in its 3 January edition, carried a report from Rome entitled "Romania and Poland are Offering Children in Exchange for Tractors, Machines, or Hard Currency."

"Investigations in Turin," writes the paper, "have suddenly brought to light a scandalous international trade in children from Romania and Poland, either newborn babies or several-month-old infants, for which the communist governments of the abovementioned countries are demanding tractors, machines, and hard currency from Italian couples to whom they offer these children for adoption. Such a shameless exchange is also being offered to French and Swiss couples."

This subject was also tackled by the Italian paper LA STAMPA, which said that a representative of the Polish Embassy in Rome confirmed these revelations, saying that those who adopt these children must have connections with Poland; for example, they must offer support for Polish institutions. LA STAMPA speaks of hundreds of Polish babies sold.

I wish to say that no Polish diplomatic representative has given the Italian press this type of information. These revelations are nonsensical and evil.

The Polish courts consent to the adoption of Polish children by foreigners only on an exceptional basis, when there is no possibility of adoption in Poland, and such consent is required for the sake of the child's welfare. Half the children adopted abroad are children of whom one or both parents have been deprived of parental rights by a court. In recent years, Polish courts have consented to the adoption abroad of 60 to 168 children annually. This includes cases where a child is adopted by its mother's foreign husband. Apart from these cases, foreigners of Polish descent also adopt children. Foreign adoptions constitute between 1.5 percent and a maximum of 5 percent of all adoptions in a given year.

The Polish authorities do not demand and collect payment from persons adopting a child. In cases involving adoption, not even court fees are charged in Poland. Therefore, suggestions about the need to support Polish institutions are particularly nonsensical.

However, for the sake of caution let me add that I cannot rule out the fact that some parents or solitary mothers give their children to be adopted abroad in return for material advantages, on the basis of private agreements. No one is able to confirm this because these are private agreements.

On the basis of the revelations contained in the Spanish and Italian press about trade with children, I kindly ask representatives of the Western press what other harmful nonsense they will think of next, and what else I will have to deny.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: There are more and more frequent proposals, especially from the ZSL, to rehabilitate Stanislaw Mikolajczyk [chairman of the Polish Socialist Party 1945-7, accused of organizing opposition toward the communist regime, escaped from Poland in 1947]. What do you think?

Urban: I think it is the ZSL's business to assess Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's role in history. The ZSL has also suggested that the legal instruments that deprived Mikolajczyk of Polish citizenship be repealed. The government is not concerned with citizenship matters. All I can do is state my opinion. During the Stalinist era, the Polish authorities stripped people with extremist oppositional views and living abroad of their Polish citizenship. After 1956, these legal decisions were repealed. I think that if Stanislaw Mikolajczyk was deprived of Polish citizenship and this decision was not repealed, it would be logical to repeal it.

Matti Hoviseppa, KANSAN UUTISET: I have two questions. During Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland, General Jaruzelski said that Poland and Great Britain should commemorate the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II together. Has anything been decided upon?

Urban: I do not have any details. But I do know that talks are taking place, on ways of jointly commemorating this anniversary and I believe that suitable ways will be found by autumn and will be approved by both sides.

Matti Hoviseppa: Second, what is the government stance toward the attempts to set up a second Polish writers union?

Urban: The statement issued by this group of writers and the subject matter of their talks smacks of confrontation, including confrontation vis-a-vis the official Polish Writers Union. This is not occurring at a very opportune moment, because it goes against the trends toward national accord expressed by the 10th plenum, the activists surrounding Lech Walesa, and the church. In a word, at a time when a certain conciliatory rapprochement is taking place, various groups that were on the sidelines of the main processes are suddenly emerging into the limelight at the wrong time and expressing confrontational sentiments. They are escalating their demands and issuing threats, which actually provide political encouragement for those who oppose national accord, people who say that national accord will fail yet again because the same escalation of events that took place in 1981 will occur.

As a member of the Polish Writers Union, I expect this union to reply to what the other writers group says about it. Generally, however, I can say that we are aiming to expand pluralism, and that, of course, this pluralism has enough room in it for various writers unions. In any case, there already are various writers unions.

In this context, I think it is worth returning to the issue of the meeting by a group of oppositional journalists which I discussed last week. "Free Europe" has replied to what I said, saying that it was not these writers who had put forth aggressive demands, that they have no claims to make, and that no one intends to indulge in conflicts and disputes. This "Free Europe" diagnosis is not correct. The meeting in question demanded that the results of controls in journalistic work carried out following the introduction of martial law be made void. These results have no practical significance today, because they do not affect anyone any more. This was just a historical feature of martial law.

The leader of this group said that the group would not abandon any of the objectives formulated in 1980 and 1981. But we know that the Polish Journalists Association of that time presented itself as a politically adventurist organization. He said that television must be accessible to anyone who has something intelligent to say. I agree, but every editorial team everywhere in the world determines who has something intelligent to say, and who has not.

He also said that the "Prasa" ["Press"] Workers Cooperative Publishing House must not have a monopoly over paper and distribution. It does not have such a monopoly, of course. He demanded the legalization of the illegal press, and that journalists working abroad should belong to a Polish journalists association. Polish journalists abroad have the full right to belong to the Association of Journalists of the PPR, of course. I suppose he meant journalists in non-Polish teams, such as "Free Europe."

According to "Free Europe," this group also demanded that journalists receive compensation for the losses and persecution they suffered as a result of the 1981 controls, and that censorship be abolished. On 9 January, "Free Europe" called for membership of the Polish Writers Union for journalists writing for the conspiratory press; the return of the assets of independent publishers, in other words what the militia confiscated; the rehabilitation of people persecuted for their writings; equal access to paper for all publishing houses, and so on. Of course, some of these demands could be the subject of serious analysis and consideration. All I want to say is that my former colleagues are, as usual, displaying a great absence of political common sense by issuing, at this time of all times, a lot of noise that goes against national accord. It upsets me that writers, people with greater contact with complex political subject matter than other milieus, are the first to damage the interests of the nation as a whole.

Monika Olejnik, Polish Radio: I would like to know if the government is aware of the moods prevalent among health service employees. Some doctors are on strike and others intend to strike because they have been promised wage rises, and promises are all that they have received. Although some nurses have had pay rises, these pay rises amount to Z3,000. That is a ridiculous sum.

Some doctors have also been told that they will not receive any wage rises. But Minister Malecka had said they would.

Urban: I find it odd that the third program of Polish Radio is so badly informed. It is informed well enough about the various demands put forth and the worries felt by the health service, but not about basic information, such as the news that a government bill on the revaluation of wages in the entire budgetary sphere, in other words in the health service as well, has been put before the Sejm. It involves a new wage system which is meant to come into effect on 1 January 1989, in other words, retroactively. Polish Radio also does not seem to know that businesslike talks on the subject of how and how much are taking place between the Ministry of Health and the health service community. On 17 January, today, there is a consultative conference of chairmen of the voivodship councils of health service employees in order to discuss planned wage rises in the health service. Afterwards, the planned wage rises will be discussed in 180 health premises. On 24 January the conclusions provided by these talks will be presented to the government in the form of trade union proposals.

As a result of these events, the protest action by the health service has been suspended. The third program of Polish Radio does not know that. What the government is offering the health service this year is 95 percent of the average wages in the material production sphere, payable in arrears as of 1 January.

On the other hand, how much each health service employee will get is not the government's business. The government is creating the possibility of a very flexible distribution of resources. The government has just settled how much a nurse in charge of a ward is to get and how much an ordinary nurse is to get. The point is that health service institutions should establish wages on their own, to the best advantage of their patients, and in a way which takes into account the work and qualifications of the staff.

The bill I have mentioned foresees that wages in the budgetary sphere will be a permanent indicator when calculating wages in the material production sphere. The indicators for this year are being worked out, and as far as 1992 is cocnerned, these percentage indicators will increase in such a way that, for example in the health and social security services, they will amount to 104 percent of the average wages in the material production sphere. In education, the indicator will be 115 percent. This is just a government proposal, of course.

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: At a time when such a lot is being said about pluralism, yesterday the militia prevented a press conference from taking place at the home of Mr Moczulski, president of the KPN [Confedertion for an Independent Poland]. Could you explain the legal basis for this militia action?

Urban: It was an illegal meeting. The pluralism we talk about is not unlimited. It does not apply to organizations that do not recognize the constitutional and legal order of People's Poland. The KPN is, after all, such an organization.

Jackson Diehl, WASHINGTON POST: The government has been saying such a lot about the liberalization of life in Poland, especially the freedom to travel abroad. Several days ago, a convention was signed in Vienna which is a continuation of the Helsinki conference and concerns, among other things, the freedom for people to cross borders and resettle. However, when all this starts to happen, I expect the government will do something that contradicts its own declarations. An example is the refusal to issue a passport to Grzegorz Boguta, a university biologist, who was invited to make a very advantageous trip to Stanford University, a university of high prestige. I suspect that this refusal is political, in other words, it is a refusal for political reasons. How can this be reconciled with the government's public declarations about liberalization and the convention that was signed in Vienna?

Urban: You are right. Mr Boguta was not refused a passport because he is a biologist and wants to study at Stanford University, but because he is the editor and publisher of an illegal journal called "NOVA," and because we believe his trip would provide financial and technical support for this illegal activity. This does not clash with the principle of the openness of Polish borders, because this principle is subject to exceptions. There are only a few cases of refusal to issue a passport, which can occur whenever state interests are at stake and in many other legal cases. This does not contradict the convention signed in Vienna. Poland's passport policy is in complete harmony with this convention. Nowhere does this convention deny the possibility of exceptions to the rules, exceptions posed by the legislation of each country.

Jacek Wedrowski, INTERPRESS: What do you have to say to the fact that Poles in Rome have commenced a strike in order to receive asylum in Italy?

Urban: That is a matter to be settled by the Poles in Rome and the Italian authorities. All I can say is that Polish passport regulations permit every Polish citizen to return to his country. Polish diplomatic and consular representations extend the validity of the passport of anyone who wants to remain abroad. These persons can remain abroad on their Polish passports as long as they want. The passports of those applying for political asylum are also renewed, and this is also no obstacle to extending a Polish passport. Finally, I wish to say that people who went abroad and wish to return to Poland and resume economic activity are assured of increasingly better economic conditions for this. If they possess foreign currency, they can undertake economic activity in firms that are based on foreign capital. If they have saved no money abroad, then the new rules present enterprising people, such as the ones that have appeared on the streets of Rome, with satisfying possibilities of undertaking economic activity in any sector of the economy.

Lars Persson, EXPRESSEN: Because the word "pluralism" appears very rarely in the Swedish press and very frequently in the Polish press, could you define this word for us?

Urban: Pluralism means multiplicity, variety.

Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: Does the government agree with the criticism of its socioeconomic intentions contained in the speech by OPZZ Deputy Chairman Waclaw Martyniuk? In particular, I would like you to comment on what he said about a departure from socioeconomic objectives, about a breach of some of the promises contained in Premier Rakowski's first speech.

Urban: I have a report on the conference at which Martyniuk said that government policy has reversed the priorities contained in Rakowski's speech, these priorities being housing construction, environmental protection, and, especially in the food economy. According to the OPZZ deputy chairman, the government's proposed amendments to the economic plan are proof that the government has reversed its own priorities. The government does not agree with this suggestion by the OPZZ deputy chairman. It is simply contrary to the facts. The outlay for environmental protection is going to be 5 percent higher than the amount in the original plan. This applies especially to protecting the air and the soil.

The plan amendment which the OPZZ deputy chairman criticized applies to the outlay in the food complex. It is foreseen that the outlay in the food complex will rise from 10 percent to 15 percent a year, the outlay for industries that support the food complex and production resources for agriculture will rise to 11 percent, and the outlay for the chemical industry will rise to 14 percent.

And now, a few words about housing policy. The housing construction figures contained in the 5-Year Plan are indeed being adjusted. But the purpose of this adjustment is to make the plan more feasible, not reduce the level of construction. Only 50 percent of the construction tasks contained in the National Socioeconomic Plan have been fulfilled during the first 3 years. The previous government is responsible for this state of affairs. It means that in the 2 years that are left of this plan, it will not be possible to make good the delay, because that would mean having to build 300,000 apartments a year, and that is still impossible. In other words, to be realistic, it was necessary to apply to the Sejm and make an amendment to the plan. However, the number of apartments completed in a single year will increase. The government is intensifying housing construction, and has also introduced an entire series of resources that will strongly animate and accelerate housing construction in the future. There is nothing from which to build more apartments, and nowhere to build them. However, construction is being increased within the limits of possibilities, not decreased. Various systemic solutions serving to break the bottleneck in housing construction will materialize a little later. An example of these is exempting from income tax for a period of 10 years all economic units that act for the benefit of construction; in other words private and state enterprises that produce building materials. Another example is a 50 percent reduction in income tax if investments undertaken by an enterprise serve to increase the supply of investment resources for housing construction. In other words, industry will pay 50 percent less tax on investments for the needs of housing.

Referring to other statements made by OPZZ Deputy Chairman Martyniuk, I wish to say that he has proposed a freeze on prices of fuels, raw materials, and energy. Coal is the basic energy source, and if the price of coal is frozen at the present level, and coal extraction is also preserved at the present level, subsidies for coal would have to be increased. These increased subsidies would be translated into increased tax burdens on enterprises, and that would mean extra taxation, which is already being criticized. Apart from that, the present prices of coal and energy are too low to encourage economizing, and a freeze on prices would encourage waste.

Further on, Martyniuk said that the prices and incomes anarchy must quickly be ended, and the policy of tightening the belts of working people must be dispensed with.

The idea that the government is aiming to tighten the population's belts is widespread. The belt-tightening policy has existed for 5 years already. The 1986-90 5-Year Plan calls for preserving the level of average real wages, excluding the effects of the increased prices of liquor and tobacco. During the present 5-Year Plan, real average wages have fallen by 0.6 percent in 1987 alone. Of course, this also excludes the effects of increased prices of liquor and tobacco. However, last year, 1988, there was a clear rise in real wages. Although the exact amount of the increase has yet to be worked out, it will be about 12 percent. This is nothing in our favor, because this increase in real wages was not accompanied by a corresponding increase in output, and caused an expansion of the inflation gap, a pressure of money in the shops, and consequent difficulties with shopping. In other words, it brought new troubles to people. But one cannot say that average real wages have fallen, because they rose quite strongly last year, even though it is economically improbable.

I emphasize that last year, the wages fund in the economy was 72.6 percent higher than in 1987, and prices last year rose by 60 percent in relation to 1987. However, one has to admit that both these factors caused excessive inflation, which we would like to reduce this year.

Finally, Martyniuk said that consumption has fallen by 20 percent since 1982, the year of the first great prices and incomes increase. Total consumption of commodities and services paid for out of personal incomes has risen by 22.7 percent since 1982. It has not fallen by 20 percent, it has risen by 22.7 percent. And yet, Poland's population has risen by over 3 million since that year.

There has been a slight increase in average real wages ever since 1983. This increase was temporarily halted only in 1987. However, this increase cannot be felt,

because some people's incomes are rising and other people's incomes are falling. This average does not apply to everyone, and the greater economic achievements which, I hope, will occur in the future will not apply to everyone either. The second reason why the increase cannot be felt is that it was not strong enough to be felt in household budgets from one year to the next. What is most important, however, is that the difficulties in doing one's shopping and the price increases are having such a powerful effect on the structure of household budgets that subjective feelings differ from the statistics.

In the light of everything I have said, it was not tactful and not right for the OPZZ deputy chairman to bandy about opinions. I realize the OPZZ has reason to express its acute dissatisfaction on behalf of the working people, but there are enough real reasons for dissatisfaction as it is, without encouraging extra dissatisfaction by means of false data.

Tim Heritage, REUTERS: Now that President Reagan's term of office is drawing to a close, could you give us a government assessment of his 8 years of office, and a picture of his achievements and failures seen through the eyes of the Polish Government? And could you tell us what the Polish Government expects from the new President, Bush?

Urban: The answer to this question is not easy. It requires greater thought. However, I will try and present at least an outline of an assessment. We see, and this deserves particular emphasis, a clear difference between President Reagan's first and second terms.

The beginning of the first term did not provide us with undue optimism. On the contrary, it was a period in which ideology and emotions were stronger than pragmatism; a time of an "evil empire"; new, intensive arms programs; frozen East-West relations, and tension in Soviet-American relations. The United States was actively engaged in altering the existing balance of forces. Peaceful competition between the two systems turned out to be unacceptable to numerous U.S. opponents to detente.

This was also the worst period in the history of Polish-American relations. U.S. activity against Poland, including the economic restrictions and political boycott, were clearly a case of interference, a violation of the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and of the generally accepted norms of international life. This activity was also contrary to the traditions that bind the two peoples and states.

During the second term, a clear change in the international climate occurred. Comprehensive Soviet-American dialogue, including meetings and well-known agreements, created a qualitatively new situation. The United States approach to Polish affairs also changed, and realistic trends consolidated themselves in U.S. Government circles.

Since 1986, there has been major progress in bilateral relations. Many important visits took place on both sides. Jozef Czyrek, Roman Malinowski, and Minister Gwiazda visited the United States. Minister T. Olechowski also paid an official visit. From the United States, we received in particular G. Bush and J. Whitehead.

A mutual, realistic, and businesslike approach toward all issues and problems ought to form the basis for future constructive and friendly relations with the United States. We are in favor of a comprehensive development of relations, especially of translating the improving political relations into the language of concrete economic cooperation. Active and stable long-term economic cooperation is advantageous to both sides. We would like to see the American side engaged in restructuring the Polish economy, and we would like it to support Polish postulates in international financial institutions. Poland is in favor of further broad political dialogue, at the highest level possible. President-elect G. Bush's personal interest in Poland and in the development of mutual relations is known. I hope Bush will continue this line of policy vis-a-vis Poland. I can assure him that this will encounter warmth and a positive reaction from us.

Gemma Aizpitareheriz, EFE Flash Press, Spain: Yesterday, Lech Walesa said that it is improbable that "Solidarity" will be legalized within 3 months. Do you agree, or do you think it might be legalized sooner?

Urban: we are waiting for the results of the 10th PZPR plenum. Lech Walesa is not taking part in it, even though he said on 12 January that he regretted not being a member of the communist party, because he could influence an acceleration of the implementation of the reforms. But I think Walesa and many other nonparty people have this influence in any case.

Yousef Mah'd, Palestinian press agency WAFA: i have two questions. I would like to return to the subject of adoption. You said that between 60 and 168 children are being adopted abroad every year. Could you tell me in which countries, and in what quantities?

Urban: Unfortunately, I do not have the information. The countries are various. It is difficult to make a statistical table out of 60 children, and classify them according to countries.

Yousef Mah'd: The foreign minister of Bangladesh was recently forced to resign because he accepted a parcel of goods. According to the press, such a parcel was sent by the Bangladeshi embassy in Warsaw or by a diplomat in this embassy. Do the Polish authorities consider such conduct to be an abuse of diplomatic privilege? And have the Polish authorities asked the Government of Bangladesh for an explanation?

Urban: That is a surprise. That is the first time I have heard anything about this.

Surender Kumar Bhutani, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA: The premier of Iran is arriving in Poland this afternoon. It is his first visit to any socialist country, absolutely the first. Relations between Islam and socialism have always been a kind of love-hate relationship, and now a kind of warm-up is occurring. Could you give a more general background to this visit?

Urban: I am wondering what you mean by saying that relations between socialism and Islam have been a kind of love-hate relationship. I do not know what to say to that, but I am sure it does not apply to Poland. We are so far away from the Islamic countries that we treat this religion as one of many in the modern world. Our relationship toward it is neither one of love, nor one of hate. It is quite simply one of respect.

The background of the visit? Well, the visit is no doubt the result of the ceasefire between Iraq and Iran, and a result of the fact that Iran has accepted the Security Council resolution calling for an end to the war in the Persian Gulf. Poland has always called for an end to this war and supported efforts to end it, and it is with great relief that Poland received news of the ceasefire, hoping that a lasting peace settlement would occur. This condition of preliminary peace has made possible the visit that is commencing today at the invitation of Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Polish-Iranian relations are about 500 years old, so they have a long tradition. Our countries maintain close contacts, signs of which are the numerous meetings and talks between our chiefs of diplomacy. In 1987, Tehran hosted Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski. Last year, we were visited by the chief of Iranian diplomacy, 'Ali Akbar Velayati. Recently, our foreign ministers met during the Paris conference. Last year there was also a visit to Iran by a Sejm delegation headed by Marshal Roman Malinowski. We expect that the official visit by Hoseyn Musavi, premier of the Islamic Republic of Iran, will serve to animate relations, especially economic relations, in line with our possibilities and Iran's needs. We want to take part in this country's postwar reconstruction.

Communiques

I am very sorry, but there will be no press conference next week. I am going to Moscow. I will hold a press conference there, and so I must miss a week here.

Tomorrow, Wednesday [18 January], at 1200, there will be a press conference by Dominik Jastrzebski, minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation. The subject: The Sejm economic activity act.

If there are any urgent matters, I am at your disposal until the end of the week, ladies and gentlemen. You know my telephone number, and my address as well.

Prague Radio Interviews Urban on Reforms

LD1701075289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Interview with Polish Government spokesman Jerzy Urban by Martin Bartisek, date, place not given—recorded; Urban remarks are in Polish, fading into Slovak translation]

[Text] [Urban] The economic situation in Poland is very complicated and the general public sees it as worse than what it is. 94 percent of Poles see the economic situation as bad or very bad. This belief makes people lax and weakens efforts to rectify matters. The government takes this into consideration in its economic and social policy but we cannot fully agree with this assessment. Statistical data show us several-percent growth of production and of national revenue from year to year. For example, there was an increase of 22 percent of export earnings to the West. These are positive trends but ther are negative ones, too. For example, last year's inflation was 70 to 80 percent. In the building industry we cannot keep up with the plan even if it is a modest one, particularly in housing construction.

On the other hand, we have positive results in agriculture. People in Poland however compare our current economic situation with the better one prior to the 1980 crisis. We are now trying to bring about a genuine change in the economy by far-reaching reforms. Above all this means to increase independence of enterprises. We want to make the government only formulate the rules of the economy and to make enterprises manage theri affairs in such a way as to have rational economy. There will be a year, or two or even three between the introduction of mechanisms that started to operate from the beginning of 1989 and the first results that would be felt by the population. Nothing shows itself immediately in the economy. New products do not materialize just by having new rules and provisions approved.

Social impatience is rather great and manifest itself in various ways: for example by the protests of trade unions against the growth of inflation, by requests for wage increase that in turn create tension in the state budget and interfere with the economy, or by strikes that occurred in Poland in the last few years and are likely to occur this year, too.

The government I represent now completes reforms, and fights against time. I mean that the government needs to score, a specific result which will be seen as a success by the public too.

[Bartisek] We in Czechoslovakia have been relatively well informed by the daily press about the abolishment of some noneconomical enterprises and plants in Poland. In your view does this process bring about expected results?

[Urban] Last year we closed the shipyards in Gdansk, one metallurgical works and several smaller enterprises on the basis of the authority enabling the government to do this at the time. The government has no authority for such action this year and we believe that various enterprises will be be dissolved due to natural they decline that is following the rule of classical economic processes: first a program to get better, then credits, then overall decline, and at the enterprise will be dissolved. These processes are simply necessary because otherwise the structural backwardness of the Polish economy would become worse.

With regard to dissolving the Gdansk shipyard, the opposition and its leader Walesa presented it as a political attack. The opposition however was not able to evoke strikes against this decision because those strikes would be against [word indistinct].

Generally, the entire political situation as Czechoslovak listeners know it from 1981 is no longer topical. Everything is changing in our country and everything starts to look different. New stream, new alliance. New antagonisms are being formed.

Council of Ministers Meets at 19 Jan Session

AU2601122489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP headline: "The Council of Ministers Meets"]

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that the Council of Ministers met on 19 January. The following decisions were made:

1. The Council of Ministers approved a draft law on some conditions pertaining to the consolidation of the national economy. The draft measures permit activity aimed at improving and accelerating the realization of the consolidation plan.

It will be possible to introduce special principles for operations in enterprises that, having concluded an agreement with the appropriate minister, will undertake economic experiments aimed at testing innovative economic, technical, or organizational solutions in practice. On the recommendation of a voivodship people's council, the government would also set out conditions for conducting an economic experiment in a given area. The conditions for conducting such experiments will be set out on the basis of existing legislation. For example, the finance minister will be able to reduce taxation rates or grant exemptions from taxation on the basis of the appropriate taxation law or the law on taxation obligations. It will only be possible to institute extraordinary measures when it transpires that existing mechanisms would be inadequate in relation to the needs of a given experiment.

It is envisaged that it will be possible to entrust firms or private individuals engaged in economic activity with state property. Such property will continue to belong to the state and its use will be regulated by the principles set out in the provisions of the civil code. State property will be used on the basis of leases or so-called usufruct rights. It is also envisaged that it will be possible to close down state enterprises in order to transfer the assets that remain to another economic agent, which could also be the existing enterprise director, in accordance with the conditions set out in the law on economic activity. The agent that takes over the assets of such an enterprises would also assume liability for its debts.

—In order to accelerate demonopolization, make better use of fixed assets, and improve efficiency in the economy, it is envisaged that it will be possible to speed up the procedures involved in breaking up, merging, and closing down enterprises, and to counteract monopolistic practices. It is proposed that legal measures be created with a view to hindering the reformation of monopolistic structures that have been eliminated.

—The draft law includes further measures that will facilitate the launching of economic activity with respect to, among other things, the rental of premises.

The government's work schedule for the first half of 1989 is also geared toward the efficient realization of the plan for the consolidation of the national economy.

2. The Council of Ministers approved draft amendments to the law on insuring property and persons. The new regulations create conditions that permit the State Insurance Company to operate as an active financial institution. The State Insurance Company will be able to invest funds in the free capital market by, inter alia, purchasing securities, providing loans, and financing participation in economic ventures. The income obtained in this way will enable the company to make its insurance policies more attractive, especially by improving insurance conditions and maintaining the real value of future benefits. The new regulations will also enable the State Insurance Company to conduct operations abroad, which means that the "Warta" enterprise's monopoly will be broken. The other provisions of the draft amendments lift restrictions on the creation of insurance companies. There will cease to be restrictions on the level of participation in such companies and the entities that can be shareholders. This will make it possible for various economic agents to create companies and for physical persons to be shareholders in them.

3. The Council of Ministers approved draft amendments to the law on the protection and cultivation of the natural environment and the law on waters. The provisions provide for the merging of the environmental protection fund with the fund for the administration of waters. The new fund will have the status of a legal person and will be able to participate in the capital market, which should help to increase its financial

reserves and thus facilitate the more effective financing of undertakings connected with the protection of the environment and the administration of waters.

The draft amendments set out detailed regulations on the establishment of protected areas, the levying of financial penalties, and appraising investment projects in terms of their effect on the natural environment. The new regulations oblige users of internal combustion engines to maintain such equipment in a condition that ensures that norms pertaining to the emission of combustion gases are complied with.

4. The Council of Ministers approved a draft law that names the Higher Pedagogical School in Zielona Gora after Tadeusz Kotarbinski.

Further Report on Szacilo Briefing on Military

AU2601121889 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 23 Jan 89 p 2

[Report signed '(y)': "The Chief of the Polish Army Main Political Administration on Changes in the Army"]

[Text] A meeting with journalists given by General of Arms General Tadeusz Szacilo was devoted to the current situation in the army. The meeting was held at the Warsaw headquarters of the Association of Journalists of the PPR on Friday, 20 January.

The press representatives asked several questions about the recent interview given by the minister of national defense, but mainly about the ministry of national defense budget and its reserves. General T. Szacilo said that our defense budget is not particularly high, and is estimated to be at more or less the same level as last year, in other words Z954 billion. According to the calculations of the so-called Stockholm Institute, this comes to around $59 per capita, whereas the U.S. budget provides a figure of $1,128 per capita, the British budget $474 per capita, the CSSR budget $323 per capita, and the Bulgarian budget about $100 less than the Czech figure.

Our budget comprises various features, including armaments (over 50 percent of the total figure). This percentage will be reduced. It is necessary to establish an upper limit for the purchase of armaments—at the so-called limit of defense necessity. It is already known that we are not going to purchase more than half of the output of our tank factory, and that this factory will have to undergo a partial restructuring. It has also been stated that this is our only pure armaments plant; in the remaining plants, military production only constitutes between 5 and 40 percent of total production (the production earmarked for the civilian market). As far as economizing is concerned, we have managed to avoid certain armaments stages in recent years. For example, we did not buy any T-62 tanks, or Mig-25 aircraft.

Another feature of the defense budget is military training. Many savings can be achieved here, thanks to the introduction of training simulators. The intensiveness of exercises will also be reduced. For example, divisions which use to carry out exercises once a year will now do so once every 2 years.

As far as uniforms, food, and medicine are concerned, expenditures will rise. Right now, the army is having problems with uniforms, because the industry is failing to discharge its commitments. There are also certain problems with food, because the norms are insufficient.

General T. Szacilo also referred to the financial situation of professional cadres, about which various myths have emerged. Last December, the average wage in industry was Z111,000, whereas in the army it was Z73,000 [a month]. The highest wages in the Polish Army, those of the defense minister and vice ministers, were less than the average wages in industry.

One question was on the subject of the so-called restructuring of the Armed Forces. General T. Szacilo said that this is connected with the adoption of a defense doctrine whereby the tasks of and proportions between elements of the Armed Forces are being reduced.

Thus, for example, two divisions were eliminated last year. These great tactical units were converted into material-technical bases, in other words, into a system of storage depots with weapons and materiel. This year, the same will happen to another two divisions. A further two divisions will be reduced to cadre strength [skadrowane]—the number of personnel in them will be reduced to 15 percent of the present figure. It is also planned to merge forces at various levels. Thus, the Air Forces Command will be merged with the National Air Defense Forces Command. Academies and schools will also be merged; for example, the school of armored forces will be merged with the mechanized forces school.

Another question asked about the fate of professional cadres. Some of these will move to other posts in the Army, some to posts outside the Army, and some to the reserve (under accelerated procedures). As far as soldiers undergoing basic service are concerned, a reduction in conscription and an earlier release of conscripts are not out of the question.

General Szacilo also said that the Army is going to have to work out a stance in connection with new problems, such as: the pressure to form ZSL branches in army units, political and trade union pluralism in defense ministry plants, and the army's world outlook, which has been programatically based on a materialistic view so far.

Foreign Ministry Views Relations with U.S.

LD2701152189 Warsaw PAP in English 1441 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 27—Foreign Ministry spokesman was asked by PAP reporter about Poland's expectations concerning relations with the U.S. in connection with George Bush's taking over the function of that country's president.

"We have been maintaining regular contacts with the new U.S. administration. We have been assured that President George Bush is friendly towards and interested in Poland. During Congress hearings new Secretary of State James Baker manifested his interest in our country as well. Also, Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski held an interesting talk with George Shultz in Vienna recently," Staniszewski said.

"At present we can rather speak about normal relations between our countries and not, like previously, about 'small steps.' We are of the opinion—also confirmed by the Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban—that our future relations with the U.S. should be based on a mutual, realistic and matter-of-fact approach to all issues. We would like the American side to engage in restructuring of the Polish economy, to support our postulates in international financial institutions," he continued.

"We come out for a broad political dialogue, also at possibly highest level. Shortly, a delegation of Polish parliamentarians, headed by Jozef Czyrek, will visit the U.S.," Staniszewski stated.

Writers To Create Independent Association

LD1701015589 Warsaw PAP in English 2232 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 16—Unaffiliated writers held a meeting here on January 14-15 and decided to create an association of Polish writers.

They set up a founding committee comprising among others Jan Jozef Szczepanski, the chairman of the former Polish writers union, to work out a statute, the programmatic assumptions and to complete registration. One hundred and forty seven persons signed an intention to form the association.

In an adopted statement, they expressed a will to create "our own, independent, democratically founded organization" which would defend their creative freedoms and professional interests.

The only way to overcome the ills of the state and society in Poland is to rebulid democracy and a civic society. Restoring pluralism in all fields, literary life inclusive, is indispensable for this, the statement reads. The participants in the meeting welcomed the resolution of the matter of the Polish Pen club and expressed hope that this would indicate the way towards democratic transformations which would be advantageous for culture also as regards other issues.

Militia Chief Interviewed on New Criminal Code

AU2101194289 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with General Zenon Trzcinski, commander in chief of the Civic Militia, by Tadeusz Kucharski: "Precise and Modern"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Kucharski] The Criminal Code Reform Commission, in charge of drafting a new criminal code, has proposed that the militia "should be obliged to furnish an apprehended person with a written explanation stating the reasons for his apprehension." Do you have any objections to that?

[Trzcinski] The principles of a reform to criminal legislation, which the Commission has worked out and which contain this suggestion, are merely a document that suggests what should be altered in the criminal code. That is why it is difficult to present a firm stance toward the proposed solutions. No, I have no objection to written explanations, as long as the Commission has in mind people suspected of a crime, because people who are apprehended by the militia include not only criminals, but also perpetrators of minor misdemeanors and drunkards. The rules governing the detention of criminals should be set down in a special code, whereas the detention of drunkards is already covered by the 1982 Sober Upbringing Act and 1983 Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs Act. If the legislators comply with the Commission's recommendation, then the militia will observe it. However, I do not see anything new in it. Militiamen are already obliged to inform a detained person of the reasons for his detention. [passage omitted]

[Kucharski] The Commission's document also says: "There is a need to state more clearly a ban on impermissible methods of obtaining evidence or information." What do you say to that?

[Trzcinski] That seems to imply that impermissible methods are being used right now. This is not true. The militia does not apply impermissible methods when interrogating suspects, conducting searches, and carrying out other investigations. If an irregularity does occur, it ought to be considered a departure from the norm. Such an irregularity would be condemned by a militiaman's superiors. Militiamen using "impermissible methods" are subject to severe disciplinary methods. [passage omitted]

Agreement on Miners' Working Conditions Signed

AU2101193189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Agreement Between the Industry Minister and Miners' Federation"]

[Excerpt] An agreement between the Ministry of Industry and the Federation of Miners Trade Unions on regulations applicable to work performed by some miners on their days off was concluded in Warsaw on 5 January. The two sides confirmed the need to fully implement the Council of Ministers Resolution Number 199 of 1981, on the subject of resources which guarantee greater coal extraction. The agreement states that a mine director who extends working hours will introduce flexible working regulations which permit miners not to work if personal or family circumstances dictate. The minister of industry is obliged to see to it that miners' shops possess much better stocks of goods than previously. [passage omitted]

Rakowski To Pay Private Visit to France

AU2601143789 Paris AFP in English
1418 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 26 (AFP)—Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski will make a private visit to Paris next month in response to an invitation from his French counterpart, Michel Rocard, a foreign office spokesman said here Thursday. He is due to arrive in the French capital on February 14 and will remain for a few days, the spokesman said without giving further details. It will be Mr. Rakowski's second visit to the West since he was appointed last September.

During a private visit to Bonn, Mr. Rakowski last Friday held talks with French President Francois Mitterrand on the sidelines of a gala dinner to celebrate former West German chancellor Willy Brandt's 75th birthday.

SCINTEIA Reviews Stance on CSCE Document

AU2501112889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romania 18 Jun 89 p 6

[Unattributed article "Romania's Principled, Consistent, and Constructive Position—For a United Europe of Peace, Security, and Cooperation"]

[Text] The statement of the SR of Romania on the final document of the all-European meeting in Vienna was recently released. As has already been reported, the statement was circulated as a document of that forum.

As is well known, Romania included the question of establishing European security among the primary targets of its foreign policy, by making an important, widely acknowledged contribution to the normalization of interstate relations in Europe, to the preparation and successful unfolding of the historical Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975, and subsequently to the follow-up of the process started by the Helsinki Final Act, and from the very beginning Romania paid special attention to the Vienna meeting.

Inspired by the wish to contribute, together with the other participating states, to the achievement of understandings and accords leading to the enhancement of confidence and security and to the development of many-sided cooperation on the continent, our country advanced a number of constructive proposals on essential issues, on which Europe's future, peace, security, and cooperation in Europe depend, persevering in its efforts to ensuring that, proceeding from current realities, the decisions of the meeting offer new prospects to the relations among European countries. According to Romania, in the spirit of, and in accordance with, the Helsinki Final Act , these relations should be based on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage, and on the right of each nation to independently decide on the path of its own socioeconomic development—principles whose importance was reaffirmed in the Vienna final document.

In this respect, in his speech to the great democratic forum at the end of November Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "Romania speaks out for the conclusion of the Vienna Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe with increasingly better results, which should lead to the development of relations in the economic, scientific-technical, and other fields of activity among all countries, to the establishment of a united Europe of peace and cooperation, based on a diversity of social systems, to strengthening the independence and sovereignty of each nation, and to the socioeconomic progress of all European nations."

In this respect—as the statement released also says—our country considers that the final document of the Vienna meeting will generally include important provisions, whose implementation will be able to contribute to better understanding and cooperation among European peoples and to the strengthening of confidence, security, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

Thus, emphasis should be placed on the particular significance of the agreement reached on starting negotiations for the reduction of troops and conventional weapons in Europe. No doubt, the decision on organizing such negotiations in the upcoming period parallel with the negotiations on developing measures to increase confidence and strengthen security in Europe, represents an important step forward. In this respect, we should recall that in past years very serious reserves and obstacles had to be overcome in order to approach, within this framework, the problems of disarmament, and we should also recall that, thanks to Romania's efforts and perseverence, in spite of some opposition at that time, a clear chapter on the "military dimension of security" was included in the Helsinki Final Act. In the period that followed, an ever broader understanding of the need to proceed to effective disarmament measures has gradually been registered.

The next meeting on conventional disarmament is also called upon to respond to this fundamental requirement, because real security in Europe is inconceivable without its implementation. According to Romania's stand, which was reaffirmed in the statement released, these negotiations should be carried out among independent and sovereign states, on the basis of equality, within the framework of the process started by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and with the observance of democratic rules for its proceedings.

In accordance with the final document, these negotiations will be attended by the member states of the two military blocs in Europe—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—leaving open the possibility for all other European countries to join the negotiations and give their opinion on issues concerning their own security. In this respect, our country believes that all European countries should participate in the respective negotiations, and the measures that will be adopted should take into consideration the security interests of all these countries.

The need for the adoption of some real, efficient disarmament measures is more topical and urgent now, since the arms race is continuing unhampered—although, lately, some positive steps have been taken in this respect—particularly through the modernization and perfecting of all categories of weapons, primarily nuclear, but also chemical and conventional weapons. In light of these realities, Romania supports the need for a general approach to disarmament issues, by adopting measures that should aim at a concomitant ban on and elimination of all weapons of mass destruction and nuclear and chemical weapons, and the substantial reduction of conventional weapons, armed forces, and

military expenditures as part of the same process. Only such an approach is able to guarantee equal security for all countries and the elimination of blackmail and the use and threat of force.

The final document of the Vienna all-European meeting also contains a number of acceptable provisions for developing cooperation and collaboration in economic, scientific, and technical fields, and in the area of environmental protection. In this respect, it is recommended that an all-European meeting be organized to contribute to the increased utilization of the economic and scientific-technical potential of European countries. Romania has supported the proposals advanced and the adoption of measures for the utmost commitment, which should lead to the expansion of cooperation in production, the intensification of technology transfer, and Romania speaks out for the elimination of the existing restrictions and discriminatory obstacles in the path of commercial and economic exchanges among the participating states.

As far as the issue of human rights is concerned, the final document of the Vienna meeting includes a number of important provisions, with which Romania agrees, as it is stresses in the statement. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that, together with these issues, this document does not include—as a firm commitment by the states—some proposals advanced by our country on a number of fundamental principles of human rights and humanitarian issues, such as: ensuring workplaces and eliminating unemployment; professional training; education and the securing of jobs and dignified living conditions for young people; the right to equal pay for equal work; the provision of adequate housing conditions for each family; the whole population's broad access to modern scientific and technological discoveries; and the ensuring of dignified and civilized conditions for all citizens. All these are issues which concern millions of people in various parts of Europe, who are affected by the persistent unemployment, lack of housing, and by the aggravation of inequalities of an economic, social, and political nature. Romania believes that ensuring people's fundamental rights and making use of man's creative capabilities is a basic requirement for promoting the cause of understanding and general progress for all nations of our continent.

On the other hand, under the pretext of a so-called concern for the human rights and freedoms, some provisions were introduced and maintained in the final document, provisions which are at variance with the principles and spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and with the realities of our times, and which also run counter to the international norms and regulations which were agreed upon by the participating states. In the proposals advanced during the meeting, our country spoke out and continues to speak out for the creation of appropriate conditions to form and develop consciousness on the basis of the latest scientific and technological discoveries, for ensuring the broad distribution of scientific discoveries, and easing all citizens' access to the values of national and world culture.

As Romania's president emphasized, human rights does not mean going back to bigotry and backwardness, it means progressing and ensuring the free and independent development of each nation by taking scientific and cultural discoveries into consideration. Some of the provisions included in the final document are of such a nature that they open the way to interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and to violation of national independence and sovereignty, and they may stimulate and encourage obscurantist and retrograde activities and manifestations.

At the same time, the statement of the SR of Romania states that the final document also includes provisions which, as a matter of fact, stimulate emigration and encourage the brain drain, thus affecting the people's socioeconomic development interests, particularly those of the less developed counties.

In connection with these aspects, during the proceedings of the meeting our country presented its observations and reservations, showing in a concrete way those problems that were not adequately dealt with in the final document; Romania still maintains its observations and reserves.

That is why, as the statement stresses, taking all these things into consideration, Romania does not undertake to fulfill the provisions of the final document to which it made amendments that were not accepted, provisions that it considers inappropriate.

Through its entire policy, Romania has virtually guaranteed and continues to guarantee the complete pursuit of freedoms and of the fundamental human rights included in the country's constitution itself. The strong, many-sided development of the national economy, the reasonable distribution of production forces, and the harmonious development of all regions of the country create objective conditions for all citizens, with no discrimination whatsoever, to enjoy these rights and freedoms within the framework of a real democracy which enables our whole nation to participate directly in the management of all socioeconomic sectors and of the whole society.

In this spirit, our country participated in the discussions that took place within the Vienna all-European meeting. Taking into consideration the fact that, in general, the final document of the meeting includes important provisions for strengthening security and developing cooperation in Europe, and wishing to contribute to the efforts to further promote the objectives to which the participating states have subscribed, Romania joined—with the above-mentioned reservations—the consensus on the adoption of the draft final document. As the statement emphasizes, our country has reaffirmed its position—which has been expressed during the proceedings as well—that all the provisions of this document, as mentioned in its content, should be applied in the constitutional framework of each country, in accordance with the domestic laws and regulations, traditions and

specific conditions in each country, as well as in a spirit of cooperation and of strict observance of the principles of relations among the participating states.

As the statement of the SR of Romania notes, the intensified efforts to develop cooperation, build up confidence and security on the continent, and achieve a united Europe within the diversity of social systems, a Europe of free, independent, and sovereign states, of progress and peace, are fully in keeping with the interests and aspirations of all European peoples, for the benefit and progress of all mankind.

Hungarian Friendship 'Circle' Established

AU2601102389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Budapest 23 (AGERPRES)—The Hungarian press agency MTI announces that a Circle of Hungarian-Romanian Friendship was set up in the city of Pecs. The circle consists of representatives of the intelligentsia, namely engineers, educators, and journalists. The aim of this organization, which operates within the framework of the PPF, is to strengthen friendship between the Hungarian and Romanian peoples. MTI emphasizes that the organization members want to do what they can to contribute to developing relations of good neighborliness between the two countries. The above-mentioned agency says that, during the founding meeting of the Hungarian-Romanian Friendship Circle, the participants also expressed the desire to become better acquainted with Romania and with the Romanian people's language, history, culture, and science.

Text of Ceausescu Speech to Bucharest Workers

AU2401142189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jan 89 p 1, 3

["Speech by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu"—SCINTEIA headline]

[Text] Dear comrades: It was my wish to meet again at the beginning of the year—the fourth of the eighth 5-year period—the working people in these big enterprises of the capital city. I wished to do that in order to discuss last year's performance and the things we have to do to best implement the provisions of this year's plan and programs of economic and social growth.

I was happy to see a number of good things, and to begin with I want to give the working people of the three enterprises I toured, all working people in the capital, a revolutionary salute and to wish them success in their work.

This meeting is attended by members of the Working People's Council and other representatives of workers, technicians, and engineers in these enterprises, and certainly by ministers and executives of central departments and ministries. Generally, our impression of the activities of these enterprises is good, particularly of the concern to fulfill the programs of modernization, economic-financial norm-setting, and improvement of work.

I listened to the comrades who spoke here. They all referred to the good fulfillment of the plan. However, because this is a working meeting and because the general meetings of working people are due in 1 month's time, I think we should take a closer look to see how work was done last year, how the plan was implemented, and how this year began.

The general meetings should analyze things as they really are, take a critical and self-critical look at what is negative and draw the necessary conclusions in order to end them. The party organizations should not be content with the negative state of affairs; the district and, certainly, the city party committees must analyze the problems again before the general meetings are held in order to set the measures and eliminate the negative states of affairs.

The "Republica" enterprise is a very important works that manufactures various materials our national economy needs; but it lagged considerably last year and caused us problems in the fulfillment of the energy program. Likewise, "23 August" is one of the country's big enterprises where nearly 20,000 people work, and it must establish whatever measures are necessary to fulfill its manufacturing program. But actually, everything made at "23 August" is of great importance for our entire economy. Of course, I would have been happy to speak about the achievements, but it wouldn't be in the communist, revolutionary spirit if we did not seriously analyze every negative situation. Lately we have held lengthy discussions with "Republica" and "23 August" representatives. We also discussed the problems of modernization and improvement of all activities in spinning and weaving mills.

True, last year's activity was significant, but did not meet the potential and the capability of these large working collectives. However, since we have concluded the year, I would like to congratulate all working people in those units and in the capital on their performance, and urge them to radically improve their work this year.

As I have said, my meetings with the working people in these three large enterprises, the discussions I had and the things I saw showing a concern to improve and modernize the activity in general, made a good impression on me. There is an earnest concern in all these different works—to fulfill the modernization and improvement programs, to cut consumption and material spending, to translate the decisions of the Great November Democratic Forum into fact, to observe the laws of the country that provide for the best implementation of the plans and programs, and of the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan as a whole.

The enterprises I visited—as all Bucharest enterprises do—have all they need to fulfill the plan and programs. More determined action is needed to translate into fact all the programs, the modernization measures, beginning with what is foremost in importance. Stronger measures ought to be taken in a revolutionary spirit, a change of thought and outlook on modernization and improvement is needed. We can no longer be content with a 2, 3, or 4 percent improvement—and I said so when I visited the three enterprises. At the Romanian cotton spinning mill measures were discussed that can—and must—be applied to improve work and increase the production per worker by 50-60 percent to cut by some 600 hours the working time per tonne of yarn. Unless we do that we cannot join the technological and scientific revolution in, or the drive for, modernization.

Those were the things we also discussed at the "Republica" works, where many products must be made that are very important for the economy, for the energy sector in general—for the nuclear sector in particular—of high quality and at a far more rapid pace than heretofore. We also invested a great deal in the "Republica" in recent years, and yet production still dropped. To tell you the truth, I expected the manager and other members of the council to speak about that, all the more so as those were problems we discussed of late. It is true that the comrades assured us that this year's programs and plans would be fulfilled. But, during the visit we discussed a 50 percent growth of the "Republica" pipe production and this is what we must achieve this year so that in 1990 the production should be of at least 300,000 tonnes of pipes. I say at least because the works and its workers have the power and potential for 400,000-500,000 tonnes in the next 5-year period. This means we have to work with a revolutionary spirit to meet the demands for modernization of the revolution in science and technology. I was impressed with some things I saw, but I think productive units should be used better, there must be order and discipline, and the equipment and working time must be used in full.

There were also good results in a number of departments at "23 August", but we lag several years behind in the modernization and organization of the engine factory. And the organization of the compressor factory has not been completed.

Not long ago—actually last week—we discussed the production of larger ship engines by "23 August" jointly with the Resita and other works. But in order to do this we must end soon, by mid-year, the reorganization of the engine factory and of the compressor one—and start work in the best conditions.

Here too, the production is well below the potential of this big works. Seven or eight years ago we said that only when the works make 14-15 billion lei worth of production can its fixed assets, equipment, and manpower be put to good use. Otherwise the works is underused. So here, too, a new approach to problems is required, a new organization of labor to drastically improve work in the last 2 years of this 5-year period and to plan to raise production to 14-15 billion lei in the next 5-year interval. As a matter of fact, the engine, compressor, and locomotive factories must greatly increase their production. Compressors, engines, and locomotives are priorities of economic growth and of a higher standard of civilization. But this calls for special measures. In connection with modernization of engines and compressors the concern to cut metal consumption, make lighter products, and others are welcome. But we must make fuel consumption a priority, cut fuel requirements—not by just 2-3 percent, but by at least 20 percent—and as much as 30-40 percent.

We must gather our research forces, taking the example of the prototype factory you have built in recent years and we must transfer the activity of research for engines in the factories, too, so that the research staff can work there and directly solve problems. This must be one of the main concerns of our activity because without radically and revolutionarily modernizing the engines and compressors, as well as all the other products, we will not manage to be competitive and manufacture high-performance engines. Weight reduction is an important target and we must compare ourselves with others, but more important is the reduction of fuel consumption which is the major problem of the entire economy to which we must give priority.

There certainly are other problems, too. I will not dwell upon them now. I have referred only to several ones wishing to call the attention of the management boards that—in their capacity as owners, producers, and end-users—they should have a broader revolutionary view of the way in which they ensure the management of the respective areas of activity. These problems must be extensively debated with all working people, with experts, technicians, and workers—all should resolutely commit themselves to fulfilling these targets.

The attainment of the goals of the new revolution in science and technology, the improvement of general knowledge and of the professional, technical and scientific training of the working class, are vital necessities for raising our homeland on higher peaks of progress and civilization. I said it at our democratic forum in November, and in other circumstances as well. We will not be able to fulfill the targets of building the multilaterally developed socialist society: we will not be able to provide the necessary conditions for our advance to communism without a high level of professional, technical, and scientific knowledge—as an asset of our entire working class, of our entire people. Let us take our people to the level of a people with the most advanced science and culture.

Undoubtedly, our results, as a whole, are good. Our homeland has developed powerfully. We have climbed many steps. Were we to make a step-by-step assessment

of the development of industry, as compared to 1945, it would mean that we have climbed more than 120 steps toward the peaks of socialist civilization.

We have climbed many steps in agriculture as well. Also in increasing the national income. The remuneration fund has grown over 75 times. We have built many enterprises, many industrial centers, strongholds of culture and health, and many homes. We have really changed our country from a backward into an industrial-agrarian country with a high development level and with a high level of revolutionary consciousness, of culture. But we still have many things to do to reach the highest peaks of progress and civilization, communism. We must work hard. We still have many steps to climb. Not like those so far—not the most difficult ones—but we still have a long way to go. As a matter of fact, we may say that we have covered the most difficult part. We have liquidated backwardness, we have a high development level. We boast a powerful material base, and more particularly a wonderful working class, good intellectuals, good experts, a wonderful peasantry. We have great people who, closely united under the party leadership, are resolved unflinchingly to implement the party program to ensure the triumph of communism in Romania.

We have committed ourselves to attaining strategic goals that provide for higher civilization standards, for a higher level of material and spiritual well being of the people, for a continuous strengthening of the material and spiritual might of our homeland, of Romania's independence and sovereignty. But we must be aware of the fact that we can achieve this in a shorter time by better organizing all activities, by working for the modernization and introduction of the gains of science in all areas, with everyone acting at his work place in a revolutionary spirit to strengthen unity and collaboration in sections, factories, central departments, and throughout the country. Only with joint forces, in full unity, will we be able to cover the way we still have to go in an ever shorter period of time and with ever better results. Let us do so as the builders of socialism in Romania be able proudly to say that they have worked under any circumstance as revolutionaries, in a worker, communist spirit, doing their duty to the homeland, to the people, to socialism, to the triumph of communism, and the strengthening of Romania's independence.

In the beginning I referred to several shortfalls. I would like them to become things of the past, to be definitively liquidated so that already from the first months of this year the entire activity in these enterprises, in the whole capital just as throughout the country unfold in the spirit of the decisions of the democratic forum of November, in a revolutionary spirit. In the year of the 45th anniversary of the victorious revolution of social and national liberation, of the Fourteenth Party Congress, these works—and the capital city, and the country—should mark the congress with ever better results, and report that indeed the achievements scored correspond to the might and capability of these powerful collectives of working people.

I am convinced that you will do your utmost and report good results in all areas at the 45th anniversary of the revolution of social and national liberation. And I wish you ever greater successes.

Dear comrades, we live in rather complex and grave international circumstances. Although certain steps have been taken toward detente and certain understandings reached toward disarmament, we are only at the beginning. We have to be fully aware that much has to be done in international life in order to achieve a radical change in the course of events, to impose a passage to general disarmament, to completely eliminate mass destruction weapons. We mean first of all the elimination of the most dangerous and devastating weapons, the nuclear weapons, together with the chemical weapons, that must be eliminated from the world for ever. It is only in this way that mankind will have the certainty of coexistence, of peace that should ensure its existence and life. We must work for the achievement of conventional disarmament, for the radical reduction of military expenditures, while ensuring the security and independence of every country.

We are most firmly engaged in this struggle and shall do our utmost, as we have so far, in order to contribute, together with peoples everywhere, with the realistically-minded, progressive forces everywhere, with all states, to the accomplishment of the whole of mankind's aspirations. It is only in this way that both our people and the other peoples will have conditions to focus their forces on socioeconomic development, on raising general welfare, that they will have conditions to live in peace and collaboration. By our work we must demonstrate that we are resolved, while building socialism, to do everything possible for a better and more just world of equality and justice among all nations, a world of peace on our planet.

Dear comrades,

I would like to once again stress that I am happy with today's meetings and talks and with the spirit of work and determination I have noted in these enterprises. That is why I believe that the shortfalls will be overcome, not forgotten, by working better, to ensure a proper course of all activities.

I would like to offer thanks for the good wishes the working people expressed during the visit, for the good wishes expressed here, and to assure the workers, our working class, you that I see them not only as an appreciation of my activity in the service of the people and of the cause of socialism, of taking our country on to higher peaks of progress and civilization, but also as a common pledge to better work together. As it is only in full unity that we will manage to implement the development programs and ensure our homeland's rise onto an ever higher level of civilization and welfare.

I wholeheartedly wish you, all the workers and working people in these enterprises, in the entire capital, successes in your activity and ever better achievements.

Much health and happiness, dear comrades! (applause)

Symposium Held on Statal Unity Anniversary

SCINTEIA on Proceedings

AU2601200689 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 24 January, the anniversary of the 1859 union of the Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, devotes the whole of page 4, some 7,000 words, to an unattributed report on the 23 January Bucharest "National Scientific Symposium on the 130th Anniversary of the Creation of the Modern Romanian State," which discussed "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's concept on the Romanian people's struggle for national-statal unity and for the free, independent, dignified, and sovereign assertion of Socialist Romania among the states of the world."

The report on the symposium consists of a brief outline of the opening speech delivered by Radu Voinea, chairman of the Academy of the SR of Romania—who emphasized the historical significance of the 1859 union—and the following seven reports, ranging from 500 to 1,400 words, on papers presented to the symposium by various party-state leaders:

"The Romanian People's Century-Old Heroic Struggle for Unity and Independence Reflected in the Vast Theoretical Work of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Republic"—presented by Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, who refers in general terms to the "historical continuity of the Romanian people on the forefathers' lands" and praises Ceausescu's "firm stand" against any "outside" attempts to impose on the Romanian people "models of so-called domestic and international conduct";

"The Historic Importance of the Creation of the Modern Romanian State for Romania's Socioeconomic Development. Domestic and International Circumstances in Which the 1859 Union Took Place"—presented by Lieutenant General Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defense and secretary of the Higher Army Political Council, who mainly deals with the historical background of the union, which was not a "random" event determined by favorable conditions abroad, but was the "natural" result of the people's struggle;

"Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept on the RCP's Role in Organizing and Leading the Struggle Waged by the Workers Class and All the People to Defend Romania's Unity, Independence, and Sovereignty"—presented by Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute for Historical, Social, and Political Studies of the RCP Central Committee, who reviews the development of the revolutionary workers movement in Romania in the past 100 years and says that the RCP "played the main role in the 23 August 1944 revolution";

"The Decisive Role Played by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the Republic, in Improving the Organization and Modernization of the National Economy and in Asserting Science, Education, and Culture as Key Elements of the Fatherland's Comprehensive Progress in the 'Nicolae Ceausescu Era'"—presented by Ion Ursu, candidate PEC member and first vice chairman of the National Committee for Science and Technology, who praises both Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu for their "decisive" contribution to the "revolutionary progress" of Romanian science and culture;

"The Whole Nation's Unity Around the RCP and its Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu Is the Lasting Foundation of Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society in Romania and Ensuring its Firm Progress Toward the Bright Peaks of Communism"—presented by Constantin Olteanu, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, who reiterates the RCP position on the need to "further strengthen the party's leading role in socialism" and rejects the thesis "according to which the party should not bear direct responsibility for the implementation of socioeconomic development plans and programs" as "erroneous, damaging, and liquidating";

"Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Theses on Socialist Construction in Romania in the Current Stage and on the Contemporary Revolutionary Process in the World"—presented by Dumitru Popescu, PEC member and rector of the Academy of Social and Political Studies of the RCP Central Committee, who endorses and praises Ceausescu's pronouncements on the ongoing international debate on "cardinal problems of the political system in socialism," particularly those referring to the party's role as "vital center" of the entire social and political life;

"Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Decisive Contribution to Working Out and Implementing the Party-State Foreign Policy Devoted to Ensuring Each People's Free and Independent Development and Strengthening Peace and Cooperation Among Nations"—presented by Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, who refers in general terms to the "dynamism" of Romanian foreign policy, which "serves the vital interests of both the Romanian people and of socialism, progress, and peace in the world" and praises Ceausescu's "vital contribution" to the elaboration of this policy.

The report on the symposium notes that at the end of the meeting the participants sent a telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu; the 1,500-word text of this cable entitled "Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania, by Participants in the National Scientific Symposium Devoted to the 130th Anniversary of the Creation of the Modern Romanian State" is carried by the daily on pages 1 and 5.

Symposium Cables Ceausescu

AU2601145189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

["Telegram Addressed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP Secretary General and President of the SR of Romania, by the Participants in the National Scientific Symposium Devoted to the 130th Anniversary of the Creation of the Modern Romanian State," held on 23 January in Bucharest]

[Text] Much Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

The proceedings of the National Scientific Symposium on the subject "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Concept Regarding the Romanian People's Struggle for National and Statal Unity and for the Free, Independent, Dignified, and Sovereign Assertion of Socialist Romania Among the States of the World"—a symposium devoted to the 130th anniversary of the founding of the modern Romanian state—took place in an atmosphere of great patriotic upsurge and enthusiasm generated by the theses, ideas, and guidelines of priceless theoretical and practical value included in your brilliant speech, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the joint session of the RCP Central Committee plenum and other democratic bodies and mass and public organizations held last November. That speech represents a brilliant program of revolutionary work and action for the entire party and nation, aimed at unflinchingly implementing the decisions of the 13th congress and the national conference of the RCP.

With particular respect and profound gratitude, the participants in our symposium pay you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—eminent party-state leader, hero among the fatherland's heroes, founder of modern socialist Romania, and prominent personality of the contemporary world—ardent homage on this occasion, too, and express their best sentiments and thoughts for your huge theoretical work, which has enriched the heritage of national and universal thinking, and for your more than 55 years of long heroic revolutionary activity devoted to raising our beloved fatherland to new peaks of glory, greatness, progress, and civilization and ensuring its free, independent, and sovereign assertion among the states in the world.

Much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we express our admiration and ardent gratitude for your impressive creative contribution to substantiating the Romanian historical science, to examining, in the spirit of scientific truth and of the dialectical and historical materialism, all problems related to the past, present, and future of our fatherland, and to working out theses and ideas of exceptional importance for the study and understanding of our the national and universal history.

Your outstanding and innovating revolutionary concept about the Romanian people's joint and uniform history and the scientific way in which you define and characterize the content and objectives of each stage of the fatherland's socioeconomic development are valuable theoretical guidelines for understanding and interpreting our national history and the Romanian people's heroic and ceaseless struggle for existence, for social and national freedom, and for independence and unity.

Proceeding from the basic theses included in your peerless theoretical work, the papers presented at the symposium emphasized the deep historical roots of the Romanian people's struggle for unity, freedom, and national independence; the domestic and international circumstances in which the 1859 union took place; the decisive role of the broad people's masses and the whole nation in this great event; and the historic significance of the creation of the modern Romanian state for the socioeconomic development of Romania and for the conclusion of the process of building the united national Romanian state in the memorable year 1918.

The papers presented at the symposium pointed out the decisive importance of the RCP founding and of the struggle waged by the workers class and its political party for the evolution of the fatherland's history. From its very beginning, the party has fully identified itself with the people's highest aspirations for social freedom and justice and has always been in the front lines of the battles to mobilize and unite all patriotic forces and the whole nation in the struggle against social oppression, against the danger of fascism and war, and for the fatherland's revolutionary and socialist change. In this respect, with profound sentiments of pride and esteem, the papers emphasized the heroism and steadfastness with which you asserted yourself, from early youth, in the future great patriotic and revolutionary class battles for winning democratic rights and freedoms and defending Romania's unity, independence, and integrity. A key reference point for that period is the great 1 May 1939 patriotic, antifascist, and antiwar demonstration, in whose organization and unfolding you, much esteemed Comrade Secretary General, together with the much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, played a decisive role.

The symposium proceedings emphasized the great successes scored by the Romanian people after the victory of the August 1944 antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the constructive and creative upsurge in building the socialist society in our fatherland.

It is a duty of honor and conscience to emphasize, on this occasion, too, the new spirit you have instilled after the Ninth RCP Congress in all spheres of the political and socioeconomic life as well as your decisive role and contribution to working out and implementing our party-state policy, to building modern Socialist Romania, to enriching the scientific heritage of socialism and communism, and to developing the revolutionary theory and

practice. Under the strong impetus of your laborious activity, the people's creative energy was unleashed and new and unprecedented prospects were opened for our fatherland's advance along the road of civilization and progress and its dignified assertion among the world's nations.

Bearing the strong imprint of your eminent personality, these years mark the period of the most fruitful achievements in the Romanian people's history, a period which is called by the whole nation, with legitimate patriotic pride, the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era." The papers read at the symposium strongly pointed out that all the great revolutionary achievements that have occurred in our country in this glorious era are indisolubly linked with your heroic activity as a revolutionary militant and ardent patriot, dedicated to the country's socioeconomic progress and to Socialist Romania's free and dignified assertion among the nations of the world.

In the period opened up by the Ninth RCP Congress—which has given new dimensions to the entire political, socioeconomic, and cultural activity of the Romanian society—the fatherland's history was based on the foundations of dialectical and historical materialism, of historical truth, and of emphasis on the decisive role of the masses in the struggle for unity, independence, and social freedom and progress, thus fulfilling its role as key element of patriotic and revolutionary education and of the enhancement of the people's awareness. Through your work of priceless theoretical value, you gave back the Romanian people the feeling of national dignity and pride and restored the national history within its legitimate rights.

The participants in the symposium emphasized that the unity of all working people and of the whole nation around the RCP and yourself personally, much esteemed Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, is the sure guarantee of the fatherland's unswerving advance along the road of progress and civilization and of the further enhancement of the national sovereignty and independence.

The symposium proceedings also highlighted the outstanding contribution made by Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, eminent politician and scholar of great world renown, to working out and implementing the party-state domestic and foreign policy, to increasing the role of science and culture in the country's stepped-up socioeconomic progress, and to developing the Romanian science, education, and culture.

The papers presented at the symposium referred in detail to your theses, much esteemed Comrade Secretary General, on the Romanian socialist construction in the current stage and on the contemporary revolutionary process at the world level, and to your decisive contribution to working out the strategic line of Romania's domestic and international policy devoted to ensuring each nation's free and independent development and strengthening peace and cooperation among peoples.

The participants in the symposium paid high homage to your activity as great hero of peace and to your outstanding contribution to firmly promoting and implementing such principles of international relations as: equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, nonuse of force and the threat of force, and the negotiated solution of all conflicts and contentious issues among states.

Along with all our people, the participants in the symposium proceedings voiced the pledge to unflinchingly follow your bright example of work and life, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and to put their entire creative and working energy in the service of fulfilling the great targets established by the 13th RCP Congress; thus, they will pay homage to the glorious deeds of our past and socialist present and will score new and great achievements in Romania's socioeconomic development in the current historical stage.

In one voice and complete unity of feeling with the whole nation, we wholeheartedly extend to you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with noble sentiments of love and regard, best and warmest wishes for long life, much health, and energy in work, so as to lead the country and the Romanian people's destiny toward the highest peaks of socialist and communist civilization.

Historian Cites 'Perfect Unity' Since 1859

AU2301175689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1601 GMT 23 Jan 89

["An Event of Outstanding Importance in the History of the Romanian People—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 23/1/1989—In an article devoted to the anniversary of 130 years since the creation of the Romanian national state through the union of Moldavia with Wallachia (24 January 1859), historian Constantin Cazanisteanu writes inter alia in the Bucharest newspaper "SCINTEIA": The historic evolution of the Romanian society has been characterized, ever since its remote Daco-Roman beginnings by a perfect unity generated by the unity of territory, language, political and administrative structures and institutions, economic life, spirituality and culture. A descendant of the Geto-Dacians and of the Romans, the Romanian people constantly inhabited the hearth of ancient Dacia, and the succession of migratory peoples could not root it out of its forefathers' land. The Romanians created their own political, administrative and military institutions, which, in the conditions of the early Middle Ages, when this process took place, could but take the form of statal pluralism, that is several Romanian feudal states. The political, economic, military and cultural relations showed profound awareness of unity of kinship which

turned into national consciousness that found its material expression in the sphere of the political fight for emancipation and unity, in the national ideology. The Romanians' aspirations after unity were fulfilled for the first time in the political work of Michael the Brave who, in 1600, became the ruler of the three Romanian countries—Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia.

The 1600 union proved that the Romanians had the necessary capabilities to accomplish an all-embracing political structure with ancient Dacia. If it was short-lived and it took over two centuries and a half to create the modern Romanian state, this delay in the fulfillment of a historical necessity and of national desideratum, was due to the neighbourhood of the three empires—Ottoman, Habsburg and Tsarist—which made use of a large range of means to prevent the achievement of the Romanian unity.

The double election of Alexandru Ioan Cuza on 24 January 1859 as prince of Moldavia and Wallachia was the expression of the firm will of the Romanians in the two principalities to break the resistance of the great European powers which had not met their demands to unite in a state called Romania.

The 24 January 1859 union proved that by courage and firmness a people may impose its legitimate aspirations and interests that the union of all socio-political forces of a national community gives it the strength to oppose the hostile forces, no matter their power and size. The union of the principalities put the basis of the modern Romanian state, the core of the future unitary Romanian national state created on the first of December 1918.

The Romanian state, achieved through the union of Moldavia and Wallachia, provided the necessary political framework for modernization, also delayed by the exploitation of the Romanian riches by the great powers ruling or occupying the national territory.

The reformist policy promoted by Cuza abolished a number of anachronical feudal structures, paving the way for the development of new capitalist relations of production and a broad participation of the country' population in the political life. Above all, the prince of the union was concerned to provide conditions for the attainment of the other two crucial desiderata of the Romanians: full state independence and achievement of the national unity.

The union of 24 January 1859 was considered by the Romanians, and also in Europe, as a decisive step for winning the absolute state independence. Prince Cuza made demarches to obtain the recognition of the Romanian state's independence and also undertook the reorganization and modernization of the army for a confrontation with the Ottoman Empire, should the latter refuse to accept the liquidation of its suzerainty. In 1875, when the oriental problem was mooted again, Romania was ready to determine the recognition of its political status of self-reliant state with full rights and powers. The independence was proclaimed on 9 May 1877 and consolidated by the victories of the Romanian Army against the Ottoman troops in the Balkan battlefields. The next step was that of the completion of the national unity. After the 24 January 1859 union, all the energies of the Romanian nation served the attainment of this ideal: the "small union" should be inevitably followed by the "great union." Like the 1859 union, the great union of 1918 was also the "energetic act of the entire Romanian nation" which fought and shed its blood to overthrow the foreign domination on parts of the Romanian land, torn by force from their true masters—the Romanians. The unitary Romanian national state was created through the union of the territories inhabited by the Romanians and occupied by force by the neighbour empires. An act validated by history, the great union was the natural continuation of the age-old process of creating the politico-territorial and institutional framework for the development of the Romanian people, a crucial stage of which was the 1859 union.

The creation of the modern Romanian state boosted the economic development, the industrial growth of the country, which resulted in the increase in the numbers of the working class, the socio-political force which would play a role of utmost importance in the Romanian society, in taking it along the socialist and communist path.

Government Welcomes USSR, GDR Troop Cuts

LD2601174389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1616 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia positively assesses the Soviet Union's intention to withdraw part of its Armed Forces from Czechoslovakia and Hungary and interprets the move as a concrete stimulus to negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe, to the strengthening of trust and military-political disburdening in Europe, Yugoslavia's official Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl said today.

Vajgl recalled that Yugoslavia has always faithfully urged the achievement of these aims and given support to each initiative contributing to the resolving of international problems, including disarmament as a particularly important one.

Vajgl also positively assessed the G.D.R.'s intentions to reduce its regular army by 10,000 troops and its military spendings by 10 percent. Vajgl said that the German Democratic Republic's decision was a concrete contribution to the strengthening of trust, security and cooperation in Europe.

Vajgl assessed that the G.D.R.'s move was in keeping with the proposal that all countries reduce their conventional arms and military effectives by 10 percent. (The proposal was forwarded by Yugoslavia at the third special United Nations General Assembly session on disarmament last year). Vajgl reminded that Yugoslavia has already done so.

Spokesman Notes 'Significant' CSCE Progress

LD2601212289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 26 (TANJUG)—Significant progress has been made at the Vienna meeting in developing the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Yugoslav Government Spokesman Ivo Vajgl said today, adding that positive steps were made in virtually all areas of inter-European cooperation.

Vajgl highlighted the progress made in the area of human rights and basic freedoms of citizens, and in this context noted the development of the provisions on the protection of national minorities and the rights of migrant workers.

He said that a rich programme of talks, conferences and meetings had been agreed on in Vienna which would [word indistinct] intensive negotiations in all areas of cooperation between the participating states.

He said the duties of the participating countries concerning the implementation of the CSCE provisions had been set more precisely than previously and added that the future of the CSCE could be viewed with optimism.

POLITIKA Attacks Suvar Leadership

AU2001145289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 89 p 5

[Dragan Radevic commentary: "Suvar's Coalition"]

[Text] Since he became president of the Yugoslav party, Stipe Suvar's behavior and statements have, to say the least, confused people and made them wonder. However, even if he was confusing at the beginning, now he is neither confusing nor making people wonder any longer, because his acts can no longer be called accidental.

One time he opposes people's meetings and proclaims that the people taking part in them are a street mob, and then he claims that these meetings are guaranteed by the Constitution.

He accused the LC of Serbia of failing to react to attacks against Tito and his work, although it is well known to everyone in this country that the LC Central Committee of Serbia reacted to it and carried out differentiation on that basis.

He equated the nonexistent Serbian danger to the Macedonian people with Bulgarian, Albanian, and Greek nationalism.

At the end of this week, in a speech at the SAWPY Federal Conference session, he expressed reservations about the obviously historic events in Montenegro.

One is therefore justified in asking the following question: Where is Stipe Suvar leading the LCY, is he helping to create the sectarian and bureaucratic separation of the party from the people, and to what extent?

Assessing Everyone's Responsibility

It is well known that after the unpleasant events in October, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium claimed that "the Montenegrin party leadership is one of the most disciplined." Although it seems that he did not mean it in the way his words were interpreted by the Montenegrin people, he did that leadership the worst possible favor. For Montenegrins have never been disciplined and obedient, at least not in one sense of the words.

That is why Nenad Bucin was right when he said at the same session of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium that "we must assess everyone's responsibility for the events that occurred in Montenegro in October," singling out the SFRY Presidium and the LCY Central Committee Presidium above all. It is more than certain that the federal state and party leadership had approved of, if not initiated, the behavior of the Montenegrin

leadership. However, the time of being untouchable has passed for good. Instead of formal authorities, the people and the workers class need real authorities.

Speaking about Montenegrin events at the same session, Stipe Suvar claimed that the main cause of the demonstrations was the difficult economic situation. Nobody will deny that this was one of the reasons, but the rage of the Montenegrin people and workers class was primarily political in nature.

Did the Yugoslav party president forget the Kosovo genocide? Why, after the resignations had been announced, did 150,000 people chant and demand that this particular problem be urgently solved?

One reason for their doing so was obviously the support and praise extended to the leadership, whose former leader, Miljan Radovic, said at the ninth LCY plenum that "if the Montenegrin leadership interfered with the Kosovo tangle, that would mean they were behaving paternalistically toward Montenegrins living there." Another reason is that the people were proclaimed to be a mob, although the big shots had long made it impossible for the will of the people to be heard in bodies and forums.

For this very reason, because of such behavior of Suvar's, it was stressed at the Montenegrin Assembly session the day before yesterday that the people are pointing their fingers at the Yugoslav party president himself, because they are convinced that he was behind the events in Montenegro last October.

What do Suvar's words, that meetings should not replace leaderships, mean after all this? Probably they express the thesis that everything should be solved within the institutions of the system. This is where Suvar is absolutely wrong. Surely, the people are the greatest and strongest pillar of the system. They can both replace and elect. And they are always right, whether some people like it or not. This should now, after the "Montenegrin January," be more than evident even to the notorious opponents of the "mob" in the front ranks of the bureaucratic counterrevolution in the country. Or would Suvar like to forbid the people to do this by some new decree?

What Kind of Intervention Did Smole Want

However, it seems that some people, like Joze Smole, will never understand this. In his opinion, the latest Montenegrin events have threatened the system in the SFRY. He even asks: Why did the eminence grise of the former alienated Montenegrin top leadership, Veselin Djuranovic, submit his resignation? According to Smole, this is a crisis of the state Presidency.

We have nothing against this assessment, but the crisis seems to have been going on for a long time. It is strange that Smole did not say anything about the question of whether the introduction of the multiparty system on the Slovene political scene means that the SFRY system is threatened also in Slovenia.

Perhaps the best reply to Smole was made by Mirko Ostojic when he asked whether Smole advocated a white or a red intervention, a military or a civilian intervention in Montenegro and whether these events really mean the destruction of the legal constitutional system in the republic.

Once again, the president of the Slovene Socialist Alliance ignored that famous telegram of support for the beating up of the Montenegrin people sent by the Slovene leadership that, believe it or not, so wholeheartedly advocates the freedom of (different) opinion and expresses opposition to any kind of repression. Is there—as Stanovnik said after the October events and Smole has said now—a fear of a dangerous wave of destruction from another republic spread from the backward south toward the developed and Europeanised north?

The shocking similarity of such views provides a better illustration of affiliation to a peculiar Suvar coalition than an answer to the question: What does such a coalition have to do with Yugoslav interests?

In all parliamentarian democracies and civilized political societies, resignations have long become moral acts and something quite usual. It seems that only in our country do they represent a personal and social drama. It would have been strange had they not been doing so, considering that these very people who are now leaving the political scene have created a political system in which no powers, not even the people, could overthrow a person holding an office. Recently some former political officials who had resigned appeared regularly at the sessions of the provincial and central committees as well as the LCY Central Committee although, as far as the moral aspect of things is concerned, they should not be there at all. Such conduct is probably unique in the world.

Acting According to People's Demands

The latest Montenegrin example, Marko Orlandic's letter, is more than strange. In it Orlandic says that he resigns all his posts in the LCY, but asks that demands for his resignation be explained; and he says that he will "provide his reasons for such a decision" at the next LCY Central Committee session. However, what other reason for such a decision is needed when the Montenegrin people do not want him? They do not want either him or Vidoje Zarkovic. Therefore the two must act according to the will of the people. Surely, they do not hope that some kind of unprincipled coalition will save them. True, Suvar wants the resignations to be

expounded upon, after which the LCY Central Committee will decide whether it accepts them or not. And what is there to be expounded upon unless one merely wants to comply with the Statute? Montenegrin Communists and people have said all they had to say. Vidoje Zarkovic and Marko Orlandic were not elected to the highest party leadership by the LCY Central Committee members but by the Montenegrin Communists.

If the LCY Central Committee plenum were now to discuss the resignations tendered at the request of the grass roots, then proven autonomists and separatists Bosko Krunic and Petar Matic (one recalls here the misuse of that letter of the LCY Central Committee Presidium) might even stay on after the debate and vote in the LCY Central Committee.

Suvar's indication that the LCY Central Committee session may be held behind closed doors sounds unrealistic, particularly now when democratization is under way at all levels and when we have hopefully left far behind us the times of closed sessions and brusque announcements issued from them. An LCY Central Committee session should be held before the people's eyes, so that party grassroots and the people can see and know who is advocating what and what views he supports. Stipe Suvar has his reasons for saying what he has said.

Suvar's thesis that Montenegrin problems cannot be solved until the problems of Yugoslavia in general are solved is unacceptable. The Montenegrin people have started to solve the Montenegrin problems. Is it not that the health of an entire organism depends on the health of one of its parts?

The LC reform is an urgent task that should not be postponed. However, the way it is conceived by some people in the highest party leadership, it leads to the abolition of the LCY. Therefore, let the Montenegrin experience be the first topic in the debate on the party reform. The demand for democratization which the people expressed was the demand that the people take matters into their own hands. For the beginning they have sufficient strength, will, and knowledge.

Assembly Delegate Calls Suvar to Account

AU2001202089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 89 p 4

[R. Nincic report: "Chaos Also Destroys Governments"]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jan—Instead of a debate on the implementation of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo which was postponed because the competent FEC authorities had not presented a report, and instead of a debate on the ability of the militia to carry out its tasks in ordinary and extraordinary circumstances (the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs designated the report as strictly confidential), the main event at the session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber Committee for Internal Policy was the unscheduled "report" by Slavko Bulatovic on the situation in Montenegro. Particular surprise was provoked by the fact that this SFRY Assembly delegate demanded that the accountability of Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, be established!

Assessing that at last week's meeting the Montenegrin people had "eliminated the alienated and bureaucratized political leadership by showing their pride, courage, and dignity with Promethean defiance and by defending national honor," Bulatovic stressed:

"It has become clear to everyone—apart from Dr Stipe Suvar—that we cannot discern militant groups and putschists in the latest events. As the legitimate president of the LCY Central Committee, he says that an exhaustive analysis of everything should be made so that we do not allow the street to replace the highest republican leaderships. This is in contrast to the October events when an analysis did not have to be carried out, because force was used to protect the constitutional order. Not only on this occasion but also concerning other economic and political problems, the most senior representative of this country's party leadership has demonstrated controversial and unexemplary ambivalence which increasingly points to the absence of his accountability to the party grass roots and the people."

Bulatovic then stated that those who sponsored the October events in Montenegro and the "dishonorable beating of workers and the people," and who showed moral and political perfidity in viewing Montenegro as a test range for unprincipled coalitions, will not be able to avoid taking responsibility for all this.

"The replacement of entire communal leaderships in a number of Montenegrin communes is acquiring the undesirable course of a disagreeable campaign. Instead of regular ideopolitical differentiation and the elimination of weaknesses, there is evidence that the politicking of usurers and profiteers is at this moment taking the role of a 'fair judge.' For example, yesterday in my area of Kolasin, the whole political leadership of the commune was replaced without any reasoned arguments, and starting with the LC Communal Committee president who last summer opposed the demands of the republican leadership that a solidarity meeting with the persecuted Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo not be held. So, the entire communal leadership was replaced, and the replacement of all republican and federal delegates was demanded by only three basic organizations of the Veletrgovina work organization, against which all the aforementioned waged a battle throughout last year because of several billion uncovered promissary notes and other losses and economic misconduct, and for which the ones who were replacing the communal leadership yesterday are the only real culprits. Using the old saying that there is no smoke without fire, they prepared this underhanded revenge together with the director

general, who led his envoys from the position of conductor. This is an unprecedented act even though we are deeply aware of the correctness of the political clearing up in Montenegro within the communal leaderships."

Bulatovic also cited the examples of the Titograd LC Communal Committee which fell "without even properly warming its seat," and the Bijelo Polje LC Communal Committee for whose replacement there were also no valid reasons.

Bulatovic concluded from this that "in the present political situation in Montenegro there is chaos that almost borders on anarchy."

"As a delegate, I am requesting that the party leadership of this country with Dr Stipe Suvar at its head take full responsibility for the situation that has arisen because of complications in the security and political situation. I think that such phenomena point to the fact that this is the party's last historical chance to consolidate its positions. However, I would like to express in advance the doubt that the present leadership or its working group will be able to do this. As we hear, even the working group of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee and Zorica Kovacevic have submitted their resignations. I think that something is approaching, something that we do not want at this moment of mayhem, chaos, and complete lack of composure in the highest party organ. I would like to stress that if the republican leadership have fallen headfirst, all the rest are not equally to blame for their fate," concluded Bulatovic.

After this speech by Bulatovic, it was concluded that a debate would be held next week on the situation in Montenegro because, as the delegates said, there must be reactions while they are of use, especially as the committee will request that the competent institutions or individuals brief the delegates on everything that has happened.

Croatian Veterans Defend Suvar

LD2001234289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2214 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Zagreb, January 20 (TANJUG)—Croatian war veterans today sharply condemned increasing frequent attacks on Yugoslav party leader Stipe Suvar, assessing them as an "anti-communist campaign."

Croatian veterans also believe that the situation in the country is alarming and even that there is a counterrevolution afoot.

Their assessment is based on the escalation of nationalist forces which would like to block the constitutional system, a fact which the veterans believe is evident from increasingly frequent verbal attacks on the organs of the federation and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee president.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA recently openly called Suvar to account, and Vojvodina Communists today criticized him for not promptly taking clear stands on the developments in the country.

The unconstitutional and blind destruction of the legal leaderships of Montenegro on January 10 and 11 this year jeopardizes the functioning of the system in the entire country, Croatian veterans assessed.

The veterans assessed that the escalation of nationalism is particularly evident in two Yugoslav republics—Serbia and Slovenia, and noted that it was the consequence of a conflict between leaders and not between the people.

With their campaigns of labelling certain leaderships and the country's leading figures, nationalist and destructive forces in the country are trying to create unrest, to provoke a state of emergency and emergency measures, and to destroy the system, Croatian veterans said, asking that the LCY Central Committee determine the hotbed of these forces at its very next session.

Presidency's Call 'One of Many Similar Appeals'

AU2001204389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Bozidar Andrejic commentary: "One Appeal Follows Another"]

[Text] How long can one live with the illusion (and off the illusion) that mistakes made at some meetings and a failure to implement agreements can be made good by other meetings and new (in fact the same) agreements?

This question applies to every step in our daily crisis situation, but it gains additional significance when even the highest political organs succumb to the risk of living with this illusion. Although its basic intentions are noble, the latest demand, the appeal of the SFRY Presidency to the republican and provincial leaderships, is very much one of these illusions. According to what is publicly known to date, this document, let us recall, advises the confronted leaderships to solve their disputes through dialogue in order to "halt the further deterioration of the situation in the country" and "overcome the crisis situation."

The leaderships of Serbia and Slovenia were called to attend such a clarification meeting ("and if entire leaderships cannot meet, at least let groups of party leadership members get together"), as was the leadership of Montenegro (does it exist at the moment?), so as to explain its relations with Serbia and Slovenia. The leaderships of Serbia and Kosovo were also called on to "be the initiators of a meeting" at which all proposed amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Serbia would be coordinated "without unnecessary politicization."

In the situation our country is in, this suppliant attitude of the highest state body calls into question the basic intentions of the appeal.

This is why the Presidency's "call" will nevertheless continue to be only one of many similar appeals without a response, which are devalued by their frequency, and even more so by their poor results. Because, to somebody who is not in the know, it may seem that the appeal applies to some new, recent conflicts. And, as we know, what is involved are the conflicts that started long ago and were never halted or subjected to sanctions. During these conflicts, the possible "negotiating sides" in the Presidency's appeal have already turned a deaf ear to many similar calls and stuck to their antagonistic positions, intolerance, and stubborness.

This will continue to happen until—along with its "invitation"—the high forum states with authoritiveness (now weakened) which side has so far ignored not only similar calls but also clear decisions.

Presidency Warns of Workers' 'Dissatisfaction'

AU2001185789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "SFRY Presidency Session: Many Leaderships and Institutions of the System Have Not Been Taking Measures To Change the Situation"]

[Text] Discussing the situation and the development of the situation in the country, on several occasions the SFRY Presidency warned about the justified dissatisfaction of the working people and citizens over the inefficiency of the individual organs and office holders, and their demands for resolute changes and a broad cadre renovation, with resolute measures to stop the negative currents in society and above all in the economy. These warnings failed to evoke any proper response, it is said in a statement issued at the session. Many leaderships and institutions of the system have not taken any appropriate steps to change the situation. In a difficult economic and political situation, mass requests for resignations and the replacement of leaderships, organs, and office holders have been made in some parts of the country.

The SFRY Presidency warns that the efficient functioning of the organs of authority, of the organs of state administration, and all other state organs must be ensured everywhere and always, while respecting the feelings and justified demands of the working people and citizens.

It is said in the statement that, for this reason, the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, as the organs of social self-management and the highest organs of power, should examine the demands and the causes for the calls to account, and adopt a position in all cases when dissatisfaction is expressed over the work of individual organs of authority, other state organs, and office bearers.

When it decides to accept a demand for dismissal or resignation, the appropriate assembly must at the same time initiate the procedure for nominating and electing public office holders, so as to prevent paralysis in the work of the organs and ensure the continued and efficient observation of their rights and obligations set by the Constitution and the law.

In this connection, and considering the fact that resignations have been accepted and dismissals of office holders have been effected in numerous organs, the SFRY Presidency demands that their cadres and work be consolidated urgently, with an accelerated procedure, but without prejudice to democracy and the quality of the procedure.

At the same time, the SFRY Presidency draws attention to everybody's responsibility for the situation in society and in one's own community, and for the situation in the country as a whole. Therefore, all the attempts to misuse public and mass dissatisfaction and demands by citizens that lead to an atmosphere of disrespect for the constitutional system and the rule of law, and which endanger the efforts to implement the economic reform must be combatted.

DELO Commentary on Election of Premier Cited

AU2001162989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Training for the Election of New Premier"]

[Text] The candidates for premier include the names of politicians who are well known to have been theoreticians and public propagators of programmed inflation, which is to say an economic idea because of which Mikulic's government fell even before its official resignation. Nobody says publicly that such a candidate is not needed, Drago Buvac says in the latest issue of DELO in an article under the title "Training for the Election of a New Premier."

The procedure is hampered by the very fact that the key is held by the SFRY Presidency, the very Presidency that nominated Branko Mikulic. Can it select a better premier? This is not their problem, it is our problem. The matter is that the machinery of selecting the (collective) leadership of the state does not fit the changes in its political essence and that therefore the selection of the new premier cannot be made in this way.

The party has no candidate of its own and will not interfere in his selection. However, "considering that we know our political machinery well, we may state without any illusion that the new premier will be selected, despite everything else, from within the present party and state structure, and all the rest is training the plebeians for elections." Buvac says that "it is difficult to get rid of the impression that our future government is to be

appointed by the court" and "if we are to judge by the passivity of the SFRY Assembly, it becomes quite clear that it is not composed of the representatives of the people."

In the opinion of the writer, the dilemma of whether to have a government of politicians or of experts is fabricated, because the premier to be must have a feeling for politics. However, he must not be a politician of the old real socialist mold. "There can be no discussion about any kind of a provisional government. No serious person would want to tackle such a thankless task unless he wanted to be inscribed on the list of our failures."

"He who will be entrusted with the office must have his program. All our party and other clichés about a reform government in a Yugoslav direction have no significance.... Let several of them propose their programs, and let them then compete. The office can be entrusted to somebody only on the basis of such a program."

The most difficult problem lies in the paradox that our political bureaucratic structure "fears a successful government." The author explains this thesis by saying that "a government that would successfully implement a pro-European market orientation should above all undermine this political bureaucracy. If it does not do this—with monetary and fiscal restrictions and a strong deregulation of the economy—it will never succeed in implementing the stabilization program. This means that one should undermine the political bureaucracy that alone is now capable of setting up a government."

"One should therefore not wonder if all the parts of the present state, party, and quasi self-managing apparatus will be against such a government and the premier-elect, for they feel that they will be defeated if such a government succeeds.... Therefore the political structures are staging a spectacular in which the plebeians train for the election of a premier," DELO concludes.

BORBA Views Markovic's Economic Policy

AU2601213789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21-22 Jan 89 p 1

[Dragoljub Zarkovic commentary: "Practical Critic of Unsuccessful Theories"]

[Text] As far as it is known to the general public, the SFRY Presidency made its decision in just 24 hours. On Wednesday the SAWPY Presidium held a debate on the possible television duel between Borisav Jovic and Ante Markovic as two equal candidates for the position of new premier designate, and on Thursday at approximately the same time, the collective "head of state" announced that it had decided in favor of the latter, thereby pushing him into an even fiercer duel, this time with the Yugoslav public. This was done at the moment when the people, who has been known for their traditional capability to choose the best national soccer team, discovered the formula for curbing inflation and therefore became very critical, especially when they were in supermarkets, in evaluating every government measure as if they were writing a column in a weekly, only without mincing words.

Therefore, instead of receiving his well-deserved pension, Ante Markovic will be in the hottest seat in this country, under the condition that the SFRY Presidency's choice is confirmed in the SFRY Assembly. This courage is expected of a man who endured over 20 years of work in our economy, and holding leading positions at that, only to accept the even more difficult post of the Croatian premier in 1982. Due to its huge debts, the SR of Croatia was the first of our republics to be covered by the wave of stagflation. Careful analysts will notice that Markovic continued to work in the economy while the concept of consensus economy dominated, that he openly spoke out against it as director of the Rade Koncar Composite Organization of Associated Labor during times when such a thing was considered heresy, and that he assumed a "higher sociopolitical function" when that model started falling apart at the seams and people with a market-entrepreneurial outlook were given a chance.

This proves that Ante Markovic "has his feet firmly on the ground" and that he does not get carried away by the idea of an office being a social promotion, but he accepts the office only when he believes that conditions are right for changing things in conformity with his vision. There is no reason to believe that things have changed now. Markovic has retained the rationality of a professional: He is an engineer and not a party school attendant, his speeches are not tainted with cliches, and he possesses a certain skepticism which is better suited to the present situation than the heroic optimism of his predecessors. An anecdote has it that during his visit to the FRG one of the two elevators in a building broke down and the hosts apologized for the delay. "Had you bought the elevators from us," Markovic said, "you would not have had such problems. Neither of the two would have worked."

There was something symbolic about this Thursday. On that day, the SFRY Presidency unveiled its decision and Ante Markovic opened a solar cell factory in Split. Here is where the symbolism lies: This is the first project based on joint venture [between the American firm Chronar and the Rade Koncar Composite Organization of Associated Labor] since the changes in our legal and constitutional regulations were implemented. However, what is involved is not only the fact that Ante Markovic headed an SFRY Assembly Constitutional Commission group which dealt directly with "economic amendments," but the fact that Markovic sees joint ventures as a chance to find the way out of the crisis and that he did not "cut the ribbon" in a steel mill or in some other gigantic plant, but at an export-oriented factory with a modern program.

Markovic is a firm advocate of the need to restructure the Yugoslav economy, which has for years been under the pressure of insistence upon the so-called "department one" [prvi odeljak], an alleged prerequisite for protecting the socialist system through self-sufficiency in raw materials, food, and power, and insistence upon the statistical obsession for "tonnes of steel per capita." All in all, it is clear that our premier designate is a man with modern managerial views whose international ranking is high, supported by the fact that some of the most famous world firms offered him a job.

On the other hand, the fact that Markovic insisted upon working in the economy for such a long time shows that he is not obsessed by politics and that he would be difficult to force into changing his views and program every few months under the burden of current difficulties. He would probably be prepared to "cause a government crisis" if "lobbies" start working again. If that does not happen and the government reaps good results in the 15 months until the SFRY Assembly is reelected, Markovic and his cabinet will have the chance to work on their program for 5 and ½ years, which, according to some people, is perfectly sufficient time to overcome the crisis. What is involved here is that all dilemmas about the length of the premier's term of office were removed recently. True, Paragraph 1 of Amendment 5 to the SFRY Constitution limits a premier's term of office to 4 years, but Paragraph 2 says that the term of office can "run out" only when the holder of the office spends over one-half of his term on the job. Since Markovic will spend only 15 months at that post until the SFRY Assembly is reelected—and that is when the new FEC is elected, too—there are no constitutional obstacles to his getting the next 4-year term.

However, there may be some problems in choosing his team. Of course Markovic will try to get people with the same views about the socioeconomic development of the country, but it is questionable whether he will get the best people, that is, the ones that he is certain will function successfully in the team implementing the program. Mikulic also had this problem, that is, he found it difficult to obtain these cadres whom he believed to be the most suitable. Therefore, one should hope that a general, that is, a Yugoslav interest will prevail during the next round of talks about the formation of the government and that a high-quality government will be formed which will be capable of taking responsibilities upon itself in the days when the economic crisis has reached its peak and affects the political health of society.

Because of his job, the author of this article had several opportunities to hear Ante Markovic speak. Going through his files, he found the notes he had made at a session of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Socioeconomic Relations which was held last April immediately before the promotion of the Mikulic government's "May measures." That was one of these sessions at which prominent party workers give monologues explaining specific economic problems, but as seen from their angle. This is what Markovic said then: "The reserves of reproduction materials in the economy are decreasing, which means that production will decrease further." What is involved here is not that Markovic guessed what will happen to production, but that his views are very practical and efficient in spotting tendencies in the economy. He is a man who is capable of receiving signals from production, interpreting them, and reacting to them.

Of course, many people will say that Ante Markovic is a "microeconomist" and that it is questionable to what extent he can observe global trends. However, nobody has ever been made happy by an "omnicogniscent" premier, but by a man who is aware of his limits, albeit that he is prepared to listen to people who know more about a certain matter.

Markovic is expected to come before the SAWPY federal conference Presidium and present the government program, but some hints on his views of how to overcome the crisis can already be discerned. First and perhaps most important, he is an ardent supporter of the theory that there is no development without motivation. It is from that point of view that he at one time criticized the policy of strict limits to personal incomes as a factor which curbs the producers' motivation. As a result, he also opposes a strict credit-monetary policy, but he may be criticized for that, particularly if the "reins" of the monetary policy are loosened further without a necessary consensus on reducing public and communal spending in real terms.

He advocates a completely new development concept based on flexible programs which can open our economy to the world, and some calculations he has made speak of his belief that progress will come about at the moment when the increase of social product reaches between 5 and 7 percent per annum, something that would make a general restructuring of Yugoslav economy possible.

However, one should not hurry too much in guessing Ante Markovic's visions because soon he will present them to the Yugoslav public himself. The only certain thing is that the times in which we live have for the first time made us put a man at the head of the government whose time spent working in the economy did not serve as a station along the way, or as almost a springboard to help him into the world of politics.

Dizdarevic Receives President-Designate Markovic
LD2001191089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—At the Palace of the Federation today Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received FEC President Designate Ante Markovic and informed him of the SFRY Presidency decision to immediately start consultation on the

candidate members of the FEC in accordance with the SFRY Constitution and the SAWPY Federal Conference decision on the way the preliminary procedure for proposing the candidates should be handled. In this context, the FEC president designate should explain as soon as possible to the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium and to the public the basis of the FEC's new action program and the criteria to be used when the candidate members of the FEC are proposed.

The Presidency president also informed Ante Markovic about the views in connection with the program and criteria for the membership of the future EEC which surfaced during the preceding candidacy procedure and the way the candidates for the office of FEC president were assessed.

Army Seen as Stabilizing Factor in Society

LD2001185489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1653 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (YPA), in view of its ideo-political unity and moral strength, is asserting itself as a major factor of stability in society, despite the current crisis in the Yugoslav community, it was stated in today's debate at a session of the leadership of the League of Communists organization in the Armed Forces.

Participants in the session, which reviewed the work of the YPA's party organization in the past two and a half years, noted that a vast majority of YPA members reveal strong patriotic and all-Yugoslav feelings, as well as the unswerving determination and readiness to defend the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity of the country and its constitutionally-determined social system.

The Communists in the Army are concerned about the continuation of some negative trends in the country. In their assessment, unity is seriously jeopardized by the inefficiency of the political system and slow dealing with problems in the Kosovo Province, where Albanian chauvinism and separatism are running wild. They are also concerned by the confrontation between individual republican organs (Yugoslavia has six republics and two autonomous provinces) and the worsening of interethnic relations.

The way out of the situation should be sought in concrete and energetic measures aimed at strengthening unity, tightening responsibility within the party and carrying out the major reforms which have already been initiatied, the participants said.

Army Communists Assess This Year's Work

AU2001154389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Here is a report on the debate held at the session of the Committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army on this year's work.

We are witnessing the fact that despite the efforts that have been made and some results that have been achieved since the 13th LCY Congress, there have been no significant successes in the implementation of party stands and tasks, whose realization is a prerequisite in order for society to find a way out of the crisis. On the contrary, negative trends are continuing. This is the assessment of Vice Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Presidium of the committee of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army, with which he opened the debate on this year's work of the party organization in the Army.

Simic stated that the unity of the country is being threatened by the inefficiency of the political system, the slow solution of the problems of Kosovo, and the deterioration of interethnic relations. The way out of these problems lies in energetic measures to strengthen unity and sharpen accountability within the LC.

Maksic Balkan Talks in Albania Assessed

LD2201163689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—Albanian Foreign Minister Reiz Malile today met Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milivoje Maksic. On this occasion, it is stressed in the circles of the Yugoslav delegation, a very substantial and open conversation took place. Yugoslav Ambassador in Tirana Novak Pribicevic also participated in the meeting.

In the talks, which lasted almost 2 hours, a detailed exchange of opinions took place on vital aspects of Yugoslav-Albanian relations and steps to advance good-neighborly cooperation. On the Yugoslav side it is stated that in the atmosphere of this and other talks which Maksic has had with Albanian officials a "new spirit to which the recently ended Balkan conference in Tirana has also contributed" could be felt.

In the meeting between Malile and Maksic it was also stressed that the independence and stable development of the two neighboring countries outside the blocs also represented their mutual interests. In this context the Albanian minister stated that Albania has no territorial pretensions toward any country and that it wanted peace and stability in all parts of Yugoslavia.

The rights of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia were also pointed out which, as deputy Federal Secretary Milivoje Maksic said, are without precedent in international practice. During the meeting stress was laid on the importance for good relations between the two countries which the respecting of the rights of the parts of the Macedonian, Serbian, and Montenegrin nations living in Albania would have.

The representatives of Yugoslavia and Albania also spoke about results and prospects for Balkan cooperation to which the two countries will actively contribute in the future.

The meeting the Yugoslav deputy minister had with the Albanian minister—as well as his meeting with the deputy foreign minister and his subsequent meeting with the Albanian deputy premier—helped the two countries better understand their positions on many issues and in this context to separate prejudice from genuine reality. The meaningful and frank talks between the representatives of the two countries helped to define more closely the strategic interests of Albania and Yugoslavia which are the proper basis for better cooperation in the building of mutual relations and their further development. In this context the evaluation can be made that a step forward has been made in mutual understanding and also that the overall Yugoslav-Albanian relations are moving along an ascending line.

Of course, this in no way means that all problems have been resolved. In a number of areas there is still a great deal to be done and the differences which exist are serious and deepseated. However, what is positive is the fact that these differences, too, were discussed in a calm atmosphere and with respect for the views of the other partner, which is the way to find solutions acceptable to both sides. This development of relations will no doubt be contributed to by the envisaged program of cooperation within the ambit of which special importance attaches to the drafting of a consular convention between the two countries.

The vision of future relations between the two countries is being built. This is what transpired during the meetings the high ranking Yugoslav official had in Tirana in recent days. This is based on the fact that strategic interests exist for both countries to strengthen cooperation and trust, that both countries are independent and outside the blocs, and that the Balkans should not become a place of rivalry between foreign powers and interests. In this context improving relations between Yugoslavia and Albania can also be considered in the context of general detente and cooperation between the Balkan countries.

Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs, is leaving Tirana for Belgrade today. Before leaving, he will be the guest at a luncheon in Shkoder with the municipal president—yet another gesture of respect by the host for the Yugoslav guest.

Foreign Debt Reduced From 40 to 23 Percent

LD2001192389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—After the rescheduling and reprogramming of a large part of our foreign debt, calculations show that the country's debt has been reduced from over 40 to 23 percent, which means that the annual debt repayments now involve 23 percent of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

This is the most important result of the Yugoslav program to consolidate foreign debt, which was passed at the end of 1987. Delegates were briefed on this today in the Committee of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly. "The reduction is mostly due to the completion of a large part of the work on the restructuring of our debt and the inflow of [new] money, but also to the nominal growth of foreign currency influx from the exports of commodities and services. Foreign debts are being serviced regularly, the foreign currency market is functioning successfully, and foreign currency reserves have increased," said Boris Konte, deputy governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin SAWP Presidium Resigns

AU2001122389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Resignation of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Montenegro Accepted"]

[Text] Titograd, 16 Jan—At its extraordinary session today, the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Montenegro accepted the resignation of its Presidium, headed by President Ramiz Bambur and Secretary Petar Djurdjic, and elected a working group that will carry out all the work until the next session of the republican conference. Dragan Milic was elected head of the working group. The session also requested that Stipe Suvar be called to account.

Gatherings and meetings of communal leaderships were held in many places of Montenegro again today, and resignations were submitted at most. As our correspondent S. Papovic reports, Andjelko Kovacevic, president of the commune and member of the LCY Central Committee, tendered his resignation in Kotor. After a meeting attended by over 2,000 people in Mojkovac, the communal leadership submitted its resignation, and it was requested that Stipe Suvar be called to account. The communal leadership in Ivangrad also submitted its resignation, and a protest gathering was held in Danilovgrad demanding that the communal leaders resign.

A group of Obod workers in Cetinje gathered in the factory yard yesterday and demanded to know who sent a telegram in their name in support of the former Montenegrin leadership on 8 October.

Montenegro Central Committee Elects New Members

LD2001113689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Titograd, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—The tasks facing the Montenegrin LC and all its socialist and self-management oriented forces, whose realization is of

crucial importance for the future of this republic [words indistinct], stressed Zorica Kovacevic who opened [words indistinct] the Montenegrin LC Central Committee plenum. Kovacevic submitted a report on behalf of the working group, which has been acting as the LC Presidium since 11 January. She stressed that its members have been faced—from practically the 1st day of their work—with the sudden deterioration of the already complex situation in the republic. After their meeting in Titograd, a series of protest gatherings ensued in a large number of Montenegrin municipalities in which, in general, requests were made for the resignation of the entire leadership and, in some places, even of directors of work organizations and heads of management organs. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted, TANJUG parts 3 and 4 not received]

It is obvious that problems in this republic are much deeper and more complex that assessed and that to overcome the current complex situation broader and more all-embracing changes in the cadre sphere, development concept, the activity of the LC and other socialist forces are required. We must also oppose poverty and unsubstantiated censuring of people, as well as power struggles in one's own interest and not on behalf of and in the long-term interest of the working class. We must create political conditions for the normal functioning of the institutions of the system. Korosec then stressed that the current events and circumstances in Montenegro and Yugoslavia were the basis for determining the platform of [word indistinct]. This congress should strengthen the fundamental values of socialist self-management, brotherhood, and unity; Yugoslavia's federative system; and the equality of nations and nationalities and restore to the LC of this republic its role as initiator in answering problems through concrete activities and in overcoming and stabilizing the very difficult situation, especially the economic and social one. The Montenegrin LC will only be able to realize these tasks, said Korosec in conclusion, in union with the broadest creative strata of society and with an exceptionally strong feeling and sensibility for the mood, interests, and initiatives of the working class and all the working people and citizens. [passage omitted]

The decision was then made on holding an extraordinary congress of this republic's LC Central Committee and on setting up a committee for its preparation, which would consist of 45 members. The exact date of the congress will be fixed at the next Central Committee session.

The Central Committee then carried out the envisaged renewal of one third of this forum. There were 27 candidates up for election as new Central Committee members. After 4 rounds of voting, 14 new members were elected: Todor Bakovic, Milo Boricic, Vuko Vukadinovic, Veselen Vukotic, Milan Gajovic, Skender Elzagic, Ranko Milovic, Pavle Strugar, Novo Saranovic, Mirjana Skobalj, Milutin Ojdanic, Asim Telacevic, Blagoje Lucic, and Mario Bakalbasic.

In the afternoon session, five of altogether nine members of the new Central Committee Presidium were elected: Todor Bakovic, Blagoje Lucic, Novak Vukadinovic, Veselin Vukotic, and Ranko Milovic. The remaining four Presidium members will be elected at the next Central Committee session.

After electing the new Presidium members, Zorica Kovacevic, coordinator of the working group which has acted as the executive-political organ since January, dwelt on the criticism from Niksic Radio and the Titograd LC Municipal Committee, which demanded her resignation from the Central Committee. She suggested that an analysis should be produced of the work of the Niksic local radio station during the famous October events in Montenegro, because this is the only way to draw the right conclusion on the exactness of her assessment of the station's comments heard at the recent Titograd LC Municipal Committee session "that she led a campaign to strip the ranks off veterans in Orja Luka"—as incorrect and malicious and specially designed to destroy the moral intergrity of her personality. At the Zorica Kovacevic's proposal, a Central Committee working group was set up which should establish whether the comments about her from Niksic and Titograd are justified.

At the end of today's session, the resignations from Central Committee membership were accepted from former presidium members: Dr Miljan Radovic, Savo Sekaric, Budimir Barjaktarevic, Vesna Karadzic-Perovic, Dr Avdul Kuprejovic, Dragan Milonjic, and Spiro Mitrovic; as well as of former executive secretaries of the presidium: Ilija Despotovic, Bosko Djukic, Milovan Djurickovic, Dr Isak Kalpacina, Mladjen Kovacevic, and Janko Tomcic. Dr Risto Kilibarda, former Presidium member failed to submit his written resignation due to his absence, but will do so at the next Central Committee session, it was announced.

Leadership Accepts Resignations

LD2001060689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1904 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the Montenegrin LC will operate with fewer members until the extraordinary congress, which should be held within 2 months. Today the LC Central Committee of this republic accepted the resignations of the two former Presidium and executive secretaries to membership in the Central Committee. Thus, the Montenegrin LC Central Committee met the demands of participants of the Titograd protest meeting.

Places vacated by departure from the Central Committee of the previous leadership will not be filled until the extraordinary congress, so until then this organ will be working with 14 fewer members.

LC Committee Holds Session

LD2001060089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2121 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Titograd, January 19 (TANJUG)—The recent resignation of the entire Montenegrin leadership and today's decision by the republican party Central Committee to call a special congress of Montenegrin Communists, meet all the demands voiced in demonstrations in Titograd on January 10 and 11.

The exact date of the congress was not announced at the Central Committee's plenary session in Titograd today, but the congress is expected to be held within the next two months.

At today's meeting, the Central Committee filled 14 vacated seats in this body and elected five members to its new, 9-member presidency. All members of the old presidency and executive secretaries had resigned.

Addressing the meeting, Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency Tefan Korosec said that the deepening crisis in Yugoslavia had found an even more acute expression in Montenegro.

Korosec admitted that the federal party presidency underestimated the complexity of the situation in the republic when, two months ago, it discussed the consequences of October demonstrations in Titograd.

After the workers' warning in Montenegro last October, the republican leadership did not show enough determination and initiative to tackle accumulated economic, social and political problems, said Korosec.

He noted that more comprehensive cadre changes were needed in order to overcome the present situation in Montenegro, and added that necessary political conditions for normal operation of the institutions of the system must be created.

The process of radical cadre changes currently under way in the republic should evolve through legal institutions and in a way which would not paralyze the system, Montenegrin Communists assessed today.

Instead of radicialism of the rallies, they noted, workers and other citizens should be enabled to participate in shaping policies through the development of self-management and democracy.

The session was also told that functioning of the system and League of Communists organizations had been brought into question following the resignations of the party and state leadership and the preidencies of 13 communal and municipal committees in Montenegro. Inter-ethnic relations in some communes of mixed composition have become so cool, that they threaten to cause confrontations with unforeseeable consequences.

Niksic Leaders Tender Resignation

LD2001043989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2211 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Niksic, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—The president of the Niksic Municipal Assembly Stevo Goranovic, the Executive Committee of the assembly and its President Vlado Bajevic, the SAWP Presidium and its President Rajko Andjelic, President and secretary of the trade unions Miro Roganovic and Sveto Zugic respectively, tendered their irrevocable resignations at the extraordinary meeting to the committee for all-people's and social self-protection this evening.

At the meeting of the workers' council this evening Niksic metallurgy workers gave a vote of no confidence to the present director of this work collective Voja Djukanovic. They also demanded resignation of Dr Radslav Bulajic, president of the managing board of the metallurgy plant.

Bulajic Resigns From Niksic

LD2601204289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1914 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Niksic, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Dr Radoslav Bulajic, president of the management board of the Niksic metallurgy plant, one of the largest Montenegrin work collectives, tendered his irrevocable resignation the post of LCY Central Committee member. The Niksic LC Municipal Committee stated this today.

Kosovo Committee Resignations Accepted

AU2701113089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] The session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee is under way in Pristina. The very beginning deviated from the announced agenda so that instead of a report by a working group on the responsibility of members of this forum and its presidium, the first point on the agenda was cadre renewal. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee unanimously accepted the resignations of Remzi Koljgeci, Bajram Seljani, Hazer Susuri, Vera Zindovic, Seljvete Sadiku, Valjbona Peku, Miladin Milentijevic, and Jusuf Levnjak. The resignations followed the principle of separating party posts from state posts.

Leadership of Pribor Municipality Resigns

LD2601172489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1641 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Summary] Pribor, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Over 6,000 workers and citizens protested today in front of the building of the sociopolitical organizations in Priboj. Pictures of Tito and Slobodan Milosevic were carried, and the municipal authorities were blamed for failing to

solve water supply problems, failing to hold a solidarity meeting, poor investment policy, and the cooling of intranational relations. The complete leadership of Pribor Municipality resigned.

Brus Residents Demand Leadership Resignations

LD2601212889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1959 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Summary] Brus, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—About 3,000 residents of the Brus [in Serbia] municipality held a protest meeting in front of the municipal assembly there calling for the resignation of the municipal leadership. Their main demand was to give support to the Serbian leadership and its policies for the stabilization of the situation in Serbia, Kosovo, and Yugoslavia. The meeting was addressed by the Brus trade union president who told the participants that their demands have been met and that resignations have been submitted by the president of the youth organization, local party committee, the executive council of the assembly, the SAWP, and the trade union. Demands were also voiced for the resignations of a number of local officials, including the secretary of the self-managing interest community for information.

Milosevic Photos Carried in Kavadarci Protest

LD2601205689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1912 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Summary] Kavadarci, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with their position, workers of the Euro-Elektrika organization, which is facing bankruptcy, today went to the front of the municipal assembly building. They carried photographs of Tito and Slobodan Milosevic and shouted slogans such as: We want resignation and Down with armchair politicians; they protested against any further fragmentation of their collective. Republican leaders arrived in Kavadarci at about 1700 and at present the entire municipal leadership and republican leaders are in the assembly. They are expected to address the gathered workers this evening and come out with their proposals for a way out of the difficult situation in the Kavadarci economy.

Slovene LC Presidium on Pluralism, Montenegro

AU2001214189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 89 p 4

[Dj.Z. report: "To Open Up Political Space"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jan—At its 2-day session the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium discussed "the most topical issues in Slovenia and Yugoslavia." Proposed stands on political pluralism were prepared at the session which the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium will give the membership and the LCY Central Committee to discuss and which will be published in KOMUNIST.

"In line with the directives of the Slovene LC Conference, the Slovene LC accepts the diverse processes of democratization and the democracies of Slovene and Yugoslav society as an essential condition for overcoming the present crisis," it is said, among other things in the "statement for the public" published at the end of the work of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium! It is thus putting at the forefront of its political program the advocacy of the opening up of political space. "Development in the direction of socialism...is the aim which we can and must achieve only in joint activity on an equal footing with all other organizational initiatives for the social and political involvement of people. With those in the SAWP we want to seek and eliminate the economic, political, and ideological causes of the crisis and to establish new social foundations for efficient development and a life worthy of man."

In the announcement it is stated, among other things, that events in the SFRY show that the LC has not succeeded in directing attention toward the three reforms and the gradual way out of the crisis and that it is understandable that people's dissatisfaction is not letting up. It states that the present events in Montenegro and the resignations of the leaderships are linked with the events of last October. "At that time, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium supported the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium which accepted the justified demands of the workers and opposed attempts to use this dissatisfaction for attacks on the legal institutions of this republic and the socialist, self-managing, and federal structure of Yugoslavia. We resolutely supported the Montenegrin Communists, even against pressures which used the dissatisfaction to deny the national identity of the Montenegrin people and the sovereignty of Montenegro.

"Today, we can state that a new outbreak of dissatisfaction arose because of unacceptable slowness and indecisiveness in solving the problems which prompted the unrest in October. This time too, the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium also warns of the unacceptable methods of applying pressure and unacceptable demands which prevent the affirmation of a systemic way of establishing the responsibility of the holders of social posts. Such processes could lead to a negation of the present system as a whole and to voluntaristic decision-making against the will of working people who are politically organized according to self-management, and could create a dangerous vacuum not only in Montenegro, but also in the federation. All the more so, since the current circumstances are being exploited for unreasoned attacks on federal organs and the LCY leadership," states the announcement, among other things.

Further on Political Pluralism

LD2001234989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2043 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Ljubljana, January 20 (TANJUG)—The top party leadership of Slovenia, opting for political pluralism, on Friday made public the positions which it said would be

components of a renewal of the League of Communists of Slovenia and the foundation of its equality-based cooperation with the newly-founded unions and alliances in Slovenia.

As reported, the Slovenian party will start a wider debate on more specific changes in the political system.

The Slovenian farmers' and young farmers' unions were set up last year and the Slovenian Democratic Alliance earlier this month, while the founding of a social democratic alliance has also been announced. The new unions and alliances are active under the auspices of the socialist alliance, the largest Yugoslav socio-political organization within whose framework alone the constitution allows organization and association.

[Words indistinct] the new unions and alliances organized in Slovenia—which a number of Yugoslav press commentators have already described as bringing in the multi-party system through a back door—the Slovenian party leadership stressed that a traditional party system would deepen the conflicts and national divisions in the country.

The top Slovenian party leadership believes, however, that the advantages of the multi-party system, reflected in the effects of the democratic mechanisms of supervision, competition of programmes and assertion of political responsibility should be taken over.

Slovene Opposition Launched With SDA Founding

AU2001122089 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 89 p 5

[Stane Pucko article: "Opposition in the Front"]

[Text] It is clear now: Official opposition in Slovenia and, of course, in Yugoslavia was born on Wednesday evening [11 January] in the Great Hall of the Cankar Hall in Ljubljana. In fact, this is no great surprise. Some Slovene leaders have said loudly and clearly on several occasions that the opposition exists, but the founding of the Slovene Democratic Alliance [SDA] has made it appear officially, with all the appurtenants, which is to say an executive committee, a council, a control committee, and an assembly, and a congress announced for May this year.

Subtenants for the Time Being

Considering the aims and intentions of the SDA, it is not even essential that the Socialist Alliance has been chosen as the home for the new alliance. This is indeed just a necessary formality, for there is no better road toward political activities at present. The Peasant Alliance has already shown that a Socialist Alliance ticket provides a quick and easy way to the assembly rostrum and a place on the SAWP Presidium. The Democrats announced their autonomous membership in the SAWP and, according to Dimitrij Rupel, their first president, they will not sell their autonomy for any sum of money. "Of course we reckon with certain funds from the SAWP, but not at the price of any returns of an ideological or any similar nature," Rupel said, and added that the Alliance will soon adopt self-financing through membership fees and voluntary contributions.

Negotiations with the SAWP have yet to take place. For the time being, the Democrats are subtenants in the Slovene Writers Association premises, in the immediate vicinity of the Central Committee building and rather far away from the SAWP building. This city planning symbolism is of course purely accidental, for, according to what one could hear in the Cankar Hall on Wednesday, the Democrats (an important remark should be made here: According to one of its leaders, the Democratic Alliance is an organization of individuals and they express their opinions as individuals) do not have very flattering views about Communists and the party ("A party that controls itself is like Baron Munchhausen") [an 18th Century German nobleman known for his highly embellished tales of incredible adventures], and they see the SAWP as an organization which should either gain autonomy have its days be counted.

Great Ambitions

Financially, they did not make a bad start. The SAWP aided the Democrats with 1 million dinars for the initiative committee, and the Cankar Hall reduced its fee for the hire of the Great Hall by 2 million dinars, so that the bill seems to have been covered with the help of the Writers Association and the university Youth Organization. The SDA's ambitions, however, are obviously wide and far-reaching, and considerable funds will undoubtedly be needed. At this moment (Friday 13 January), the Alliance has over 1,000 registered members. Certainly there will be more, but it is not yet known how high the membership fee will be. Budget contributions would thus be necessary. Perhaps the NOVA REVIJA formula will be adopted. Some time ago, the republic wanted to have a journal of that kind, and it supported it with funds. Or the case of MLADINA: A weekly of that kind was wanted and subsidies were granted. MLADINA now stands on its own feet. Perhaps the same will happen with the SDA one day.

The Democrats now face all the formalities about registering with the register of societies, which is a path that the Peasant Alliance has already traveled. Only then it will actually be said that the SDA exists de jure. De facto, however, it exists and the first session of its Executive Committee has been announced for the coming Wednesday. Those elected to this body are Janez Jansa, Ivan Oman (president of the Peasant Alliance), Dr Dimitrij Rupel (president), writer Veno Taufer; Dr Alojz Krizman, rector of Maribor University; Dr Hubert Pozarnik, Tomaz Pisanski, Dr Bostjan Zupancic, and Samo Resnik; while the council numbers 25 members, but has no president yet.

Road to Power

It is therefore too early to speak about the Democrats' relations to the SAWP. They will depend on the Democrats' political assessment about the life expectation of the front. According to Rupel, the SAWP is a creation of real socialism, unknown in normal pluralist systems, and is a sort of a grand coalition such as exists only in war or in an emergency situation, and therefore it should ultimately be abolished.

This question has obviously not yet been cleared up in the ranks of the Democrats. Rupel disputes the views that the "raid" in the SAWP should be carried out through a request for a proper participation in power—i.e., so that shares in power would be adjusted to actual relations in society: a share to the Communists, another share to the socialists, a third to the social democrats, and so on to the Christian democrats (they, too, are appearing on the political horizon), the liberals, and others. Such a method would mean that the extraordinary situation would continue, but the Democrats are not in favor of it. The alternative, therefore, is to eliminate the SAWP and to set up autonomous independent alliances or parties.

At least as far as the Democrats are concerned, matters are quite clear. It was said in the Cankar Hall that the SDA should help in the normalization of our political relations, but this liberalization is not possible without respecting actual, legitimate, and ultimately also illegitimate social interests. The alliance is a movement for the inauguration of parliamentary democracy, political competition, and an institutionalized control of power, and a firm opposition is needed for that purpose.

Rupel and his associates knew how to make the founding of their alliance a first-class media event. Five or six television teams, a mass of press photographers and journalists, and a crowded hall—all this is rarely to be seen. The Democrats offered a generalized, very radical program, knowing full well that at the present level of dissatisfaction and bad feeling, one cannot offer a policy of small steps of little significance, and that at the stage when problems are getting general, one can present radical announcements and assessments, particularly if they are spiced with an adequate amount of critical eloquence and irony.

"After all these years we are again at the beginning," said Rupel. "It is as if everything should begin afresh or anew, should catch up with the time, and correct history. We are not beginning in a large field on unplowed ground, before an empty horizon, but at the hot spot, in the graveyard of history...." Or: "Our launch meeting took place on 11 January to symbolize the number 1 which is the number of the beginning and of priority." Or: "We have not been brought luck—and in this I agree with Kardelj—by either the state or the party."

Democrats and Cankar

As early as the day after the launch, the Democrats held a press conference. They said that they had not begun with Yugoslav ambitions, because that would have been haughty and arrogant but they had opened their door to all like-minded people in the country. Dimitrij Rupel, who is otherwise a university professor and journalist, was introduced to journalists as the leader of the alliance for the first time. On this occasion, at the request of the journalists, he commented on the latest events in Montenegro: "I am afraid that the destruction of institutions in such a radical way leads to several dangers which are not obvious in a superficial examination. At first sight one can say that this involves justified and deserved criticism of politics but one should not also overlook the great danger that threatens these areas in which democracy can develop, a democracy which nonetheless cannot be solved on the streets or in direct contact between officials and the masses. Democracy must be regulated within the framework of the institutions of the system. I am therefore a reformer and not a revolutionary and such a scene reminds me of the Cultural Revolution and I do not like it at all."

After the satisfaction of the launch comes the inevitable facing of our reality. And a bitter truth is awaiting the Democrats: The writing of the program is one thing but the realization of it is something else. The fact that they will have to share this truth with other programs and their proponents is also awaiting them. Nihilism and defeatism can really provoke applause if they are skillfully articulated. The Cankar Hall earned only 1 million dinars instead of 3 million from the Democrats. The Democrat Ivan Cankar will surely not turn in his grave because of this. This "historical hot spot" is nevertheless not as black as the Slovene Democrats see and portray it.

Smole Interview on British Television Reported

AU2001200689 Belrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "The Yugoslav Ship Is Not Sinking"]

[Text] London, 15 Jan—Joze Smole, president of the SAWP of Slovenia, today took part in the very popular foreign political program "The World This Week" on Channel Four, the Independent Television Network. Smole's replies to the correspondents' questions will undoubtedly help the British get a more complete and a truer picture of the situation in Yugoslavia after some very gloomy reports on the events in our country in the British press. Following an introduction which presented the situation in Yugoslavia as "an ever-deepening crisis" and the country as "a ship without a helmsman heading toward the rocks," Joze Smole said that he did not agree that the Yugoslav ship is sinking. He said that the country now has an economic program in which the anti-inflation component is the most significant.

Speaking about the election of the new FEC president, Smole explained that there are now two candidates left on the list and that, when choosing between Ante Markovic from Croatia and Borisav Jovic from Serbia, Slovenia prefers Markovic because of his economic achievements and his important commitment to formulating amendments pertaining to economic reform.

After the presenter of the program remarked that there had been no Federal Government president from Serbia for the last 20 years, Smole said that candidates will be discussed during the coming weeks and, if no accord is reached, there may be new names, some possibly from Slovenia. Explaining the country's views on the economic situation, he said that in theory everybody is for the reform and market economy, but that there are differences in practice about the role of the Federal Government.

After the presenter remarked that a strong central government would probably be good for the realization of anti-inflation measures, the president of the SAWP of Slovenia said that the FEC has much power now and the only question is why it fails to use it. He added that it is important to create a unified Yugoslav market since the present one is not working.

Speaking about the political climate in Slovenia, Smole explained that what is involved is not the creation of opposition parties, but organizations that act under the auspices of the Socialist Alliance but have their own program. Correcting the presenter of the program, he said that the SAWP is not a "communist umbrella" and added that the creation of a multiparty system in Slovenia is not expected for the time being, although there certainly are some pluralistic interests, as expressions of different views and opinions. He also added that all new organizations act within the Constitution and that they are not against the system, just as parties and organizations in the West do not work against the existing structure of society and power.

As for the rumors that Yugoslavia is asking to be admitted to the EEC, Smole explained that the country first intends to form links with the EFTA group and a rapprochement with the Community will come in the second stage. The fact that the European part of the Yugoslav foreign policy is growing stronger is not against the role the country plays in the Nonaligned Movement, Joze Smole concluded.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Urges 1989 LCY Congress

LD2001192689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC this evening adopted, without discussion, the text of a communique from yesterday's closed session of this forum, at which the political and security situation in the country and in this republic were examined. The communique states, among other things, that the recent development of events is a serious warning of deepening disunity in the LCY and that the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium are unsuccessful in overcoming ideological differences in their own ranks because of differences in assessments of certain questions and even open conflicts among republican and provincial leaderships.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, the communique stresses, has decided to propose to the LCY Central Committee that it pass a decision at the next session on preparations for and the holding of the 14th LCY Congress this year so that this congress will be held first, followed by LC congresses in republics and conferences in provinces.

20,000 Residents Protest Pollution in Zenica

LD2001191289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1636 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Zenica, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—This afternoon about 20,000 Zenica residents demonstrated against increasing air pollution in that industrial town.

The main square in Zenica was too small to accommodate everyone who came here in an organized fashion to express publicly their protest at the unbearable conditions of life in this town. The extreme air pollution is taking catastrophic proportions these days: The concentration of pollution is 20 times more than the limit.

"We want air," "Yugoslavia gets steel; Zenica, sulfur dioxide," "Mother, we want health," "Sell Neum villas, buy us filters," "Zenica is Chernobyl in monthly repayments," "Yugoslavia, sacrifices are greeting you." These and similar slogans dominated the square of self-managers today. They were carried by both young and old wearing gas masks. The gas masks were not worn only as a sign of protest, but also because of unbearable pollution. A few days ago the second degree of emergency measures for protection from pollution went into effect. Since 10 November last year, the first degree has been in effect permanently. [passage omitted]

The meeting finished some time after 1600 hours with the words: "We will return."